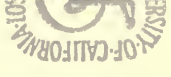
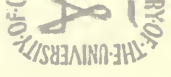


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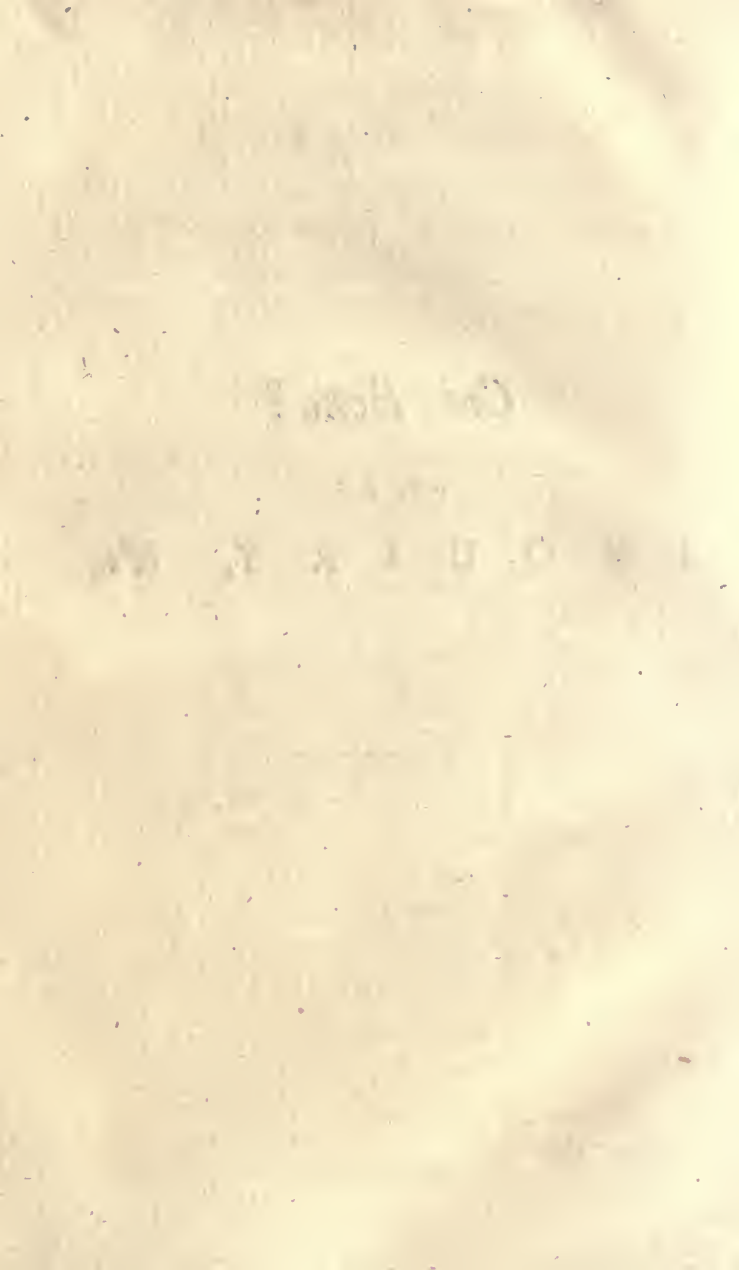




Cui Bono?

OR, AN

I N Q U I R Y, &c.



Cui Bono?

OR, AN
I N Q U I R Y,
WHAT
BENEFITS CAN ARISE
EITHER TO THE
ENGLISH OR THE AMERICANS,
THE
FRENCH, SPANIARDS, OR DUTCH,
FROM THE
GREATEST VICTORIES, OR SUCCESSES,
IN THE
P R E S E N T W A R,
BEING A
S E R I E S O F L E T T E R S,
ADDRESSED TO
MONSIEUR NECKER,
LATE CONTROLLER GENERAL OF THE FINANCES OF FRANCE.

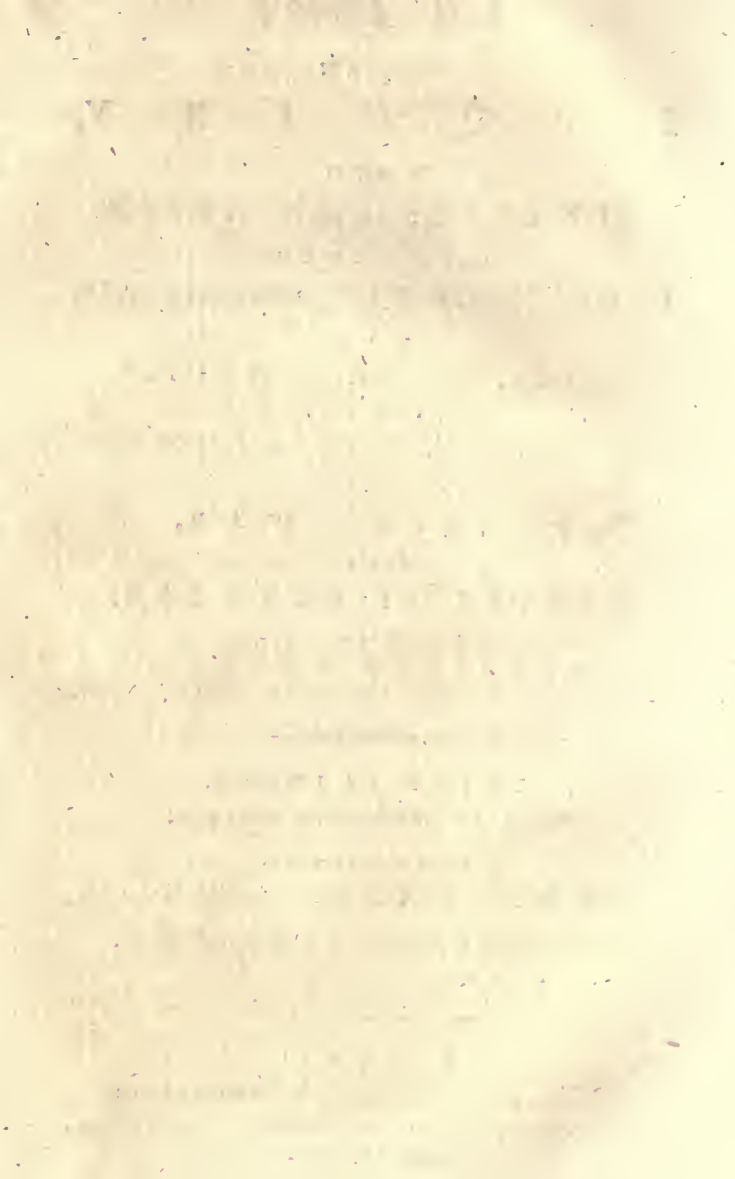
THIRD EDITION,
WITH AN ADDITIONAL PREFACE.

WITH A PLAN FOR A
GENERAL PACIFICATION.

By *JOSIAH TUCKER*, D.D.
DEAN OF GLOCESTER.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND;
SOLD ALSO BY EVANS AND HAZEL, IN GLOCESTER.
M.DCC.LXXXII.



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1782

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

T H I R D E D I T I O N .

SINCE the First Publication of this Work, a Treatise has appeared with the following Title:—*The Interests of Great Britain considered, with respect to her Colonies.* By James Anderson, M. A. Printed for Cadell. The Similarity of the principal Arguments, and the Sameness of the *general* Conclusion, have induced certain Persons to suspect, that one of us must have borrowed from the other. In justice to that enlightened and judicious Author, I think it my Duty to declare, that I have not the least Doubt of the Originality of his Plan; being perfectly satisfied, from va-

rious Circumstances, that he could not, even if he would, have borrowed any Thing from *me*. If, after this Declaration, the Malevolent shall be disposed to indulge their Suspicions, and to gratify their Spleen, in supposing that *I am the Plagiary*, and have stolen from him,—I will not be at the Pains of confuting the Surmise; but shall let it pass, among Multitudes of others, equally devoid of Truth, and equally *harmless* in their Consequences, as far as my Character and Writings are concerned.

INDEED, there is one Article in Mr. *Anderson's* Book, contained in a long Note at Pages. 50—54, which I should have been glad to have adopted [but not without acknowledging the Obligation], had I the Honour of being acquainted with the Author, or had I seen his Treatise before I had printed my own. I long have had it in Contemplation, when treating of the ruinous Consequences of retaining distant Colonies,

lonies, to give some new and striking Illustration of that melancholy Truth, by an Example, which would suit all Cases: Therefore I endeavoured to discover some *new* Topic, or *general Medium*, which might have evidenced the bad Effects of these Colonizing Systems in other Instances, as well as in that single One, to which the Downfal of Old Spain hath been usually ascribed, *viz.* the Treasures of *Mexico* and *Peru*. But not having been fortunate enough to fix upon such an Illustration, as was altogether satisfactory to myself, I forbore troubling the Reader with an Argument which did not appear to me to be perfectly conclusive.—With Pleasure let it be acknowledged, that I now thank Mr. *Anderson*, in this Public Manner, for doing that Service to the Cause of Truth, which I could not do.

I HAVE further to add, That having furnished the Gentleman, who undertook a
French

French Translation of my *Cui Bono?* with a Paragraph from one of the late *Monf. Turgot's* Letters;—many Persons, both at Home and Abroad, have wished to read the genuine Epistle of that able and upright Minister, whole and unmutilated, in order that they might judge the better of the Force and Spirit of his Reasonings. For my Part, as I see no material Objection against gratifying such a Curiosity, I here insert it *literally*, and at full Length; and only wish, that the Political and Commercial Arguments, which are urged in it for the Good of Mankind, may have those Effects on the Mind of every Reader, which they deserve to have.

A Paris, le 12 Septembre 1770.

Je n'ay point l'honneur d'être personnellement connu de vous : Mais je fais que vous avés été satisfait d'une traduction que j'ai faite, il y a une quinzaine d'années, de vos questions sur la naturalization des protestants étrangers. J'ay depuis traduit votre brochure sur les guerres de commerce ; et j'ay differé de la faire imprimer parceque je me propose d'y joindre quelques notes que mes differentes occupations ne m'ont pas laissé le temps d'achever. Un traducteur doit à son auteur toutes sortes d'hommages ; et je vous prie d'accepter à ce titre une brochure, qui certainement ne vous présentera aucune idée nouvelle, mais qu'on m'a persuadé pouvoir être utile pour repandre des idées elementaires sur des objets qu'on ne fauroit mettre trop à la portée du peuple. Ce morceau avoit été écrit pour l'instruction de deux Chinois que j'avois vus

a dans

dans ce pays cy, et pour leur faire mieux entendre des questions que je leur ay adressées sur l'état, et la constitution économique de leur empire.

LES questions m'en rappellent d'autres que vous aviés eu la bonté de m'envoyer par Mr. Hume, et que je n'ai jamais reçues, parceque le paquet mis à la poste à Paris pour Limoges, où j'étois alors, s'y est perdue. Mr. Hume vous a sans doute instruit de cet accident, et de mes regrets. Je ne vous en dois pas moins de remerciemens. S'il vous en restoit quelque exemplaire, et que vous voulussiez reparer ma perte, le moyen le plus sur servit de le mettre tout simplement à la poste à Londres, à l'adresse de Mr. Turgot, l'intendant de Limoges, à Paris.

J'AI un regret bien plus grand de n'avoir pu profiter des voyages que vous avés fait il y a quelques années à Paris, pour avoir l'honneur de faire connoissance avec

vous.

vous. J'en aurois été d'autant plus flatté, que je vois par vos ouvrages que nos principes sur la liberté, et sur les principaux objets de l'économie politique, se ressemblent beaucoup. Je vous avoué que je ne puis m'empêcher d'être étonné, que dans une nation qui jouit de la liberté de la presse, vous soyez presque le seul auteur qui ait connu et senti les avantages de la liberté du commerce, et qui n'ayés pas été seduit par la puerile et sanguinaire illusion d'un prétendu commerce exclusif. Puissent les efforts des politiques éclairés et humains détruire cette abominable idole, qui reste encore après la manie des conquêtes, et l'intolérance religieuse, dont le monde commence à se detromper ! Que de millions d'hommes ont été immolés à ces trois monstres ! Je vois avec joye, comme citoyen du monde, s'approcher un événement, qui, plus que tous les livres des philosophes, dissipera le phantome de la jalousie du commerce. Je parle de la séparation de vos co-

lonies d'avec la métropole, qui fera bientôt suivie de celle de toute l'Amérique d'avec l'Europe. C'est alors que la decouverte de cette partie du monde nous deviendra véritablement utile. C'est alors qu'elle multipliera nos jouissances bien plus abondamment, que quand nous les achetions par de flots de sang. Le peuple Anglois, François, Espagnol, &c. usera du sucre, du café, de l'indigo, et vendra ses denrées précisément comme le peuple Suisse le fait aujourd'hui; et il aura, comme le peuple Suisse, l'avantage que ce sucre, ce café, cet indigo, ne serviront plus de pretexte aux intrigans pour le précipiter dans des guerres ruineuses, et pour l'accabler de taxes.

J'AI l'honneur d'être, avec l'estime la plus sincere et le plus étendue, Monsieur, votre très humble, et très obeissant serviteur,

TURGOT.

THE

THE original Letter being now given, it may not be amiss to subjoin a few Notes by way of Explanation on particular Passages.

I.

Vos Questions sur la Naturalization des Protestants étrangers.] This refers to my second Defence of the Naturalization of foreign Protestants. For, having maintained, in the seventh Proposal of my Brief Essay on Trade*, that such a general Law was consonant to every idea which the Christian Religion and even common Humanity can inspire, or which national

* The first Edition of this Tract appeared before the End of the Year 1748. I still approve of the major Part of what is contained in that, and in the subsequent Editions. But the little that is written in favour of Colonization-schemes [and it is but *very little*] I wish was totally expunged. The late Admiral *Knowles* was the first Person who opened my Eyes, respecting the Insignificance, or rather the great Detriment of such pretended Acquisitions: Sir *William Calvert*, Member for the City of *London*, confirmed me in this Train of Thinking. And I have remained a fixt Convert to the same Opinion upwards of twenty-five Years last past—growing every Day more and more convinced.

Policy and commercial Interest can dictate; —I had the Honour to be burnt in Effigy by one set of enthusiastic Bigots at that Juncture for maintaining such a Doctrine,—as I have now, for as good a Reason, to be persecuted by another Set:—persecuted, I mean, as far as Calumny and Misrepresentation can carry them, that is, *as far as they dare*. But in fact, their greatest Efforts only tend to make the Truth more generally known, by being more thoroughly scrutinized and examined: Consequently they promote the Cause they had so strenuously resolved to injure and oppress. Therefore, in this View of Things, I can have no Objections to the Continuance of their Labours, if they can answer it to their own Consciences.

2.

J'ai traduit votre Brochure sur les Guerres de Commerce.] By this Mr. Turgot meant, *the Case of going to War for the Sake of Trade;*

Trade; many Scores of which I made presents of in *France* (after it had been blown upon in *England*), and which now makes the second of my *American Tracts*.—It were to be wished, that some of Mr. *Turgot's* Friends in *France*, would give us this Translation, together with his Notes, as far as he had finished them. Certainly what came from the Pen of such a Master, and on such a Subject, would be worth perusing at any Time, and be particularly seasonable at the present.

3.

Ce Morceau avoit été écrit pour l'Instruction de deux Chinois.] This Paper was a short Tract, recommending the free Exportation and Importation of Grain at all Times and Seasons. In reference to which, I believe Mr. *Turgot* has been in a great Part successful: At least he has obtained a Revocation of those several Duties payable on Rivers

vers

vers and Canals, and those Customs and Taxes which had been long established for obtaining Licence to pass through certain Towns on the Route from one Province to another; by the Accumulation of which several Payments, the Expence of carrying of Corn from one neighbouring District to another, became so great, that in many Instances it was cheaper for the Inhabitants, when in Want of Bread, to import Corn from Abroad, than to fetch it from a Province bordering on their own. As to the two *Chinese* Gentlemen, for whose particular Instruction Mr. *Turgot* saith he wrote this little Tract, in order to enable them to give him similar Informations relative to *China*, it were to be wished, that he had been more explicit on that Head, and that he had favoured us with the Informations he received from them, if he received any. Possibly it might have been an happy Circumstance to *Europe* in general, could he have obtained an exact Account of those
several

several Rules and Methods, whereby we may suppose, that Cheapness and Plenty are impartially expanded, and every where distributed throughout that vast Empire, swarming with Multitudes of People. The Population of *China* was always a Phenomenon worthy the Attention of every thinking Man.

4.

BUT this Population of *China*, together with that of *Japan*, becomes at present the more necessary to be attended to (could we get at the proper Data), in as much as this Circumstance is closely connected with an important political Question of modern Times. Dr. *Price* and his Associates, in order to recommend a democratical [*alias* a *Lockian*] Form of Government, in preference to all others, have instanced the ancient Population of *Greece* and *Italy*, compared with the present miserable Depopulation

b

pulation of the same Countries, as a decisive Proof, that Democracies fill a Country with Inhabitants, and that absolute Oligarchies, or Monarchies, turn the same into a Desert. Unhappily for these Gentlemen, they are mistaken in their Premises; and of course they must be wrong in their Conclusions. The ancient Republics of *Greece* and *Italy*, and of the *Ionian* States on the Sea-coasts of *Asia*, never were democratical in the Sense that Word is *now* understood. For the Right of voting in political Debates never was supposed by the Ancients to be an *inherent* and *unalienable Right* belonging to the whole human Species. On the contrary, it was considered as a *Franchise*, a *Privilege*, an *Honour* appertaining to a select Number, and not as a *common Right* belonging to *each* Inhabitant, or to *every* Individual. In short, GIVE US OUR RIGHTS, the modern Phrase of these Times, was never heard of in those Days. THIS IS FACT.—

INDEED,

INDEED it must be owned, that the Population of Ancient *Greece* was much greater than it is at present, whatever was the Cause, which I do not pretend to assign. But that Despotism alone is not the *true* and *only* Cause of the present Depopulation of those Countries, is manifest from hence,—that at the very Period, when *Greece* was so populous and free,—the interior Parts of *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, were equally populous, as far as appears from History, and yet not free. For all these Countries were then, as well as now, subject to arbitrary Government, and despotic Sway. *China* likewise, and *Japan*, are acknowledged to be the most populous Countries upon Earth. But it cannot be pretended, that it is the Popularity of their Forms of Government, or their political Freedom, which have produced these surprising Populations. Some other Cause or Causes must be assigned for such extraordinary Effects, whatever they be.—For my

Part, I cannot tell; and I am not ashamed to confess my Ignorance of what I do not know.—Dr. *Price* declares, that *France* is more populous than *England*; but surely *French* Subjects do not enjoy more Liberty than the *English*.

As to *Italy*; I have my Doubts, whether it was, even in the Time of the *Romans*, more populous than it is at present. The *Campania*, and the Environs of *Rome*, were certainly much more populous. But to counterbalance these Numbers, let it be observed, that Ancient *Liguria*, *Gallia Cisalpina*, *Etruria*, and *Magna Græcia*, were probably less populous than the State of *Genoa*, Modern *Lombardy*, *Tuscany*, and the Kingdom of *Naples* are at this Day.

THERE is a Passage in the Second Book of *Polybius*, which has been greatly mistaken by most Writers:—The setting of which to rights may contribute to throw
considerable

considerable Light on this Inquiry. When the *Romans* were terrified with the Apprehensions of a general Invasion, both of the *Transalpine* and *Cisalpine Gauls* united against them, they sent to all their Allies to know, what Number of Men they were capable of raising on such an Emergency? This produced a general Muster throughout that Part of *Italy*, which made a common Cause with the *Romans* of resisting the *Gauls*; and the Sum Total of all, taken together, amounted to almost 800,000 Men, including Horse and Foot. Hence many Writers, and some of great Note, have incautiously inferred, that the Armies of the *Romans*, and of their Allies at that Juncture, were not much short of 800,000 Men. Whereas the Words of *Polybius* admit of no such Construction; being simply no more than this*, “That the whole
“ Multitude,

* I have no Greek *Polybius* now at Hand; but by a Memorandum I took, when I read the Passage, the Words,
I think,

“ Multitude, *capable of bearing Arms,*
 “ amounted to almost that Number.” This
 being the Case, I learn from certain Inqui-
 ries made some Years ago at my Request
 [I cannot say with great Exactness], that
 the same Territories would now produce
 almost double the Number of Fencible Men,
 or of Men capable of bearing Arms, were
 the like Muster to be taken.

INDEED, were such Kind of Logic as this
 to be admitted, it might be affirmed, with
 equal Truth, that if *Great Britain* contains
 Eight Millions of Inhabitants, and if every
 Seventh Person might be supposed to be
 capable of bearing Arms, then the Armies,
 which we now have on Foot, amount to

I think, were these, or nearly these; Συμπαν το πλῆθος των
 οπλα δυναμεων βασάζειν. But the learned Reader will con-
 sult the Original. It is farther to be remembered, that
 the whole Force with which the *Gauls* entered *Hetruria*,
 amounted to no more, according to *Polybius's* own Ac-
 count, than 50,000 Foot and 20,000 Horse.—Was it né-
 cessary to raise an Host of 800,000 Men to oppose 70,000?
 And is the Valour of the *Romans* come to this at last?

upwards

upwards of 1,142,857 Fighting Men. But who would make such an Inference? Who would reason after so wild a Manner?—As to the general Question, relative to the comparative State of the Population of Ancient and Modern *Italy*, as I neither affirm nor deny, but only express my Doubts concerning it, I leave that Matter to be discussed by those who have more Leisure and greater Abilities, and better Means of Information, than fall to my Share.

UPON the whole, suffice it to observe, That after surveying the Nature and Tendency of all other Forms of Government, as far as I am able, I must pronounce the mixt Form [such as ours, where one Part of the Constitution balances and *checks* the other, and where all should be on a Kind of EQUIPOISE] to be infinitely the best, notwithstanding the many Imperfections attending it in this imperfect State of Things. And I must add, as a necessary Corollary,

Corollary, That if ever the *civium ardor*,
 PRAVA *jubentium* should so far prevail, as
 to obtain an *equal Representation in Parlia-*
ment; that is, equal to the Numbers to
 be found within the Bills of Mortality—
 [☞ Which, we have been lately told, are
 One-eighth Part of the Inhabitants of the
 whole Island] the Consequence will be,
 That such an Accession of new Members,
 backed with a perpetual armed and disci-
 plined Militia [another favourite Doctrine
 of these Times], within an Hour's March
 of the King's Palace, and of the Parlia-
 ment-house, will soon overturn the present
 Constitution; prescribing what Terms they
 please, and even PROSCRIBING whom they
 shall think proper. This they will certainly
 do, as the first Step towards a blessed Re-
 formation, if such a Scheme should take
 place: And, in the next Place, they will
 either erect a Tyranny of their own, over
 the rest of their Fellow-subjects;—Or, if
 they should not agree among themselves,
 which

which of these petty Tyrants should be Lord-paramount over his Brethren, they will set the Kingdom to Sale to the highest Bidder, after the Example of the *Prætorian* Guards of *Rome*.—These Predictions may be ridiculed and laughed at; but there is nothing in them which is not warranted in History, and confirmed by Experience. Such Consequences are the necessary Workings of Human Passions, when not under the Guidance of Reason and Religion.

GLOCESTER,
May 23, 1782.

N. B. *The Purchasers of the former Editions of the Cui Bono, may have this new Preface separately, Price 6d. if they shall think proper.*

1847
The first of the year was a very
dry one, and the crops were
generally poor. The wheat
was particularly affected, and
the yield was very low. The
spring was also very dry, and
the crops were again poor.
The summer was also very dry,
and the crops were again poor.
The autumn was also very dry,
and the crops were again poor.
The winter was also very dry,
and the crops were again poor.
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dry, and the crops were again
poor. The winter was also very
dry, and the crops were again
poor.

L E T T E R I.

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

Cui Bono?

S I R,

A Man who has distinguished himself in such critical Times as the present, in the difficult and envied Station of Controller-General of the Finances of *France*, is certain of being attacked, and is sure of being defended, by Multitudes of Writers. You have experienced the Effects of both Parties ; and are, perhaps, by this Time, sufficiently cloyed with the Flattery of the one, and grown callous to the Censures of the other. Therefore it is natural for you to conclude, that when any

other Writer is bringing your Name again before the Public, he is only repeating what you have so often heard.—But if you, Sir, will honour these Letters with a careful Perusal, you will find hardly one Thing in them similar to what you have read before; and yet many of them, perhaps, not unworthy of your serious Attention.

As I wish to treat you with all the Respect due to your distinguished Character; and as my Aim, in the Prosecution of my Subject, is entirely the Good of Mankind; I presume it is unnecessary, though a Stranger to your Person, to apologize for the Liberty I take in thus addressing you. Only let me here be allowed to observe, that I was favoured with the Correspondence of your Predecessor, MONS. TURGOT, both during the Time he was in Office, and after his Resignation;—and that I am the same Person, of whose Writings MONS. NECKER himself

himself has sometimes condescended to make mention; and more particularly at that Juncture, when the idle Project of invading *England*, became the general Topic of Conversation throughout all *Europe*.

SETTING, therefore, all Apologies aside, and endeavouring to divest myself of national Partialities, and local Prejudices, to the utmost of my Power, I now enter on the Work proposed, not as an *Englishman*, but as a Citizen of the World; not as having an inbred Antipathy against *France*, but as the Friend of the whole human Species.

WHATEVER were your private Views, either of Interest or of Honour, in publishing your *Compte Rendu*, the Example you have set deserves universal Commendation. And it is greatly to be wished, that it were made a fundamental Law in all arbitrary Governments, that each Minister,

nister, in the grand Departments of Trust and Power, should publish annual Accounts of his respective Administration—Accounts I mean, which could stand the Test of an open and impartial Scrutiny, free from those false Colourings, and wilful Misrepresentations, with which yours have been so frequently and expressly charged; and from which, I fear, you have not yet been able to clear yourself to general Satisfaction.

BUT waving every Thing of this Nature [because I do not intend to be either your Advocate or Accuser], and taking for granted, what you do not wish to conceal, that the grand Design of the Government, under which you live, in ordering your Account to be made public, was to shew the World, that *France* had so many Resources still remaining, as would exhaust and ruin *England* in the Progress of this War;—I will here suppose, for Argument Sake, that every Thing has succeeded,

ed, or shall succeed, according to the warmest Wishes of the most bigoted *Frenchman*. Poor *England* is no more! *Non modo delenda, sed penitus deleta est Carthago!* In short, the Lilies of *France*, like the Eagles of *Rome*, are every where triumphant!

WELL, my good Sir, after all this Expence and Trouble, after so much Hurry and Confusion in subduing this devoted Island, after such repeated Victories, and immortal Fame,—will you permit us to rest a while, and to take Breath?—And since the *French* Arms have now raised their Nation to this Pinnacle of Glory, let us pause a little, to view the extended Prospect so far below us?—This is all the Boon I ask, and in granting this, I hope we shall be induced to *think*, in the next Place [for we have not yet *thought* upon the Matter], what would be the inevitable Consequences of these mighty Revolutions,

tions, now so ardently desired by every *Frenchman*, were Providence to permit them to come to pass.

SUCH a Subject is surely of Importance to the Welfare and Happiness of Mankind. And this is the Subject I propose for the ensuing Letter. In the mean Time, I own I am under a strong Temptation to add a few Words concerning the infatuated Conduct of my own Countrymen, the *English*, in the former War; as a Warning and Memento to future Politicians,

ALMOST thirty Years ago, when our Colonists in *America*, were at least *fifty* to *one* more; in Number than the Handful of Men who could have invaded them from *Canada*,—I say, when these fifty undaunted Heroes, of the true *English* Breed, pretended to be afraid of one *Frenchman*—Common Sense might
have

have taught us to have suspected the Truth of such pretended Fears;—Common Sense also might have suggested the Expediency of pausing a while, and of examining into Facts, *particularly relating to the Fur-trade*, before we rushed into Hostilities on such weak and frivolous Pretences:—Lastly, Common Sense might have told us, that it would be bad Policy to put these turbulent and factious Colonies above all Controul [if we really thought them worth the keeping], and of placing them in that very State of Independence, which they had ever wished for, and had been constantly aiming at.—I say, Common Sense might have suggested all these Things, if we had not disdained to ask the Advice of such a Counsellor. Nay, more;—there was a Man at that very Time, who remonstrated strongly against the Absurdity, not to say Injustice of such Proceedings. He shewed, with an Evidence not attempted to

be invalidated, that the *Americans* had not assigned a sufficient Cause for going to War for their Sakes;—and that their pretended Dangers of being driven into the Sea, or of being put between two Fires (the constant Cry and Clamour at that Juncture in all our public Papers), were mere Imposture and Grimace.—And what is beyond all, he offered to prove from the *English* Custom-House Books of Entries or Imports, that the Quantity of Furs brought into *England* from *America* was almost *double* to what it had been in former Times, instead of being monopolized (as was asserted) by the *French*:—Though I must own, that had this been really the Case, it would have been something new in the Annals of the World, that a great Nation, and a civilized People, had made War on another Nation, because the latter had bought more Skins of Cats, Foxes, Badgers, and of such Sort of Vermin, than
the

the former had been able to do.—Lastly, the same Person ventured to foretel in the most direct Terms, that the driving of the *French* from the *English* Back Settlements would be the Signal to the Colonies, to meditate a general Revolt. But, alas! he was preaching to the Winds and Waves:—Some would not vouchsafe an Answer to his Letters;—others were pleased to tell him, that the *American* Colonists were better Judges of their own Dangers, than he had any Right to pretend to be;—and that the Reflections cast upon them for harbouring Thoughts of Independence, and of planning Schemes of Rebellion, were base and scandalous, and utterly void of Foundation. Moreover, not a few plainly declared, that whosoever should attempt to raise such Suspicions against the best of loyal Subjects, the faithful *Americans*, could be no other than a Spy in Disguise, and a Pensioner to *France*.

[You, Sir, who so justly complain, that the several Pensions on the *French* List amount to the enormous Sum of Twenty-eight Millions of Livres, or about £. 1,272,727 Sterling;—you, I say, can best tell, whether you have met with the Name of TUCKER among the long Roll of *English* Mock Patriots, and *French* Pensioners?]

NOW, as we have such a recent Example before our Eyes of those fatal Consequences, which might have been prevented by a cool and timely Reflection; it is to be hoped, that the like blind, infatuated Part will not be acted over again;—but that the Powers at War will take Warning by the past, and consider, ere it be too late, what would be the Effects of the present furious Contests, were they even to be crowned with all that Brilliancy and Success, which their own fond Hearts can wish, or desire.

WITH these Sentiments, and with just Esteem for your great Talents, I have the Honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

J. T.

LET.

LETTER II.

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

Cui Bono?

S I R,

THE former Letter being only an Introduction, we are now coming to the main Subject. Poor *England* is subdued by the combined Forces of *France* and her Allies. Perhaps, indeed, she may not be so absolutely conquered, as to be annexed as a Province to the *French* Empire,—nevertheless so totally ruined as to become a Bankrupt, and to make a most despicable Figure both in the political and commercial World.—Or, if you would chuse an absolute Subjection rather than a partial one, the Difference between the one Condition and the other is not so very material, but that this also may be granted for Argument's Sake, *England* therefore is no longer an independent

pendent State, but a Province to *France*. and to be governed by a Vice-Roy of the grand Monarch.—Can you ask for more?

WHAT then is to be the Consequence of this mighty Change?—And what Effects are to follow, in the Course of Trade, and in the System of Politics, from this grand Revolution?—Respecting *Trade*, it is evident to a Demonstration, that were a Tradesman, or a Shopkeeper to be asked, whether it is his Interest, that his richest Customers and best Paymasters should become Bankrupts and Beggars? he would give you a very short Answer. Perhaps likewise he would be tempted to ask in his turn,—“ Do you mean, Sir, to insult my Understanding, or to expose your own Ignorance by asking such a foolish Question?” But it seems, public trading Nations are to proceed by opposite Methods, and by Maxims of Trade and Commerce, quite
contrary

contrary to those of individuals. Bodies Politic are to use every Effort in their Power to beggar their Customers first, and to trade with them afterwards, as the wisest Course: So that what would have been the Height of Folly and Absurdity in the one Case, not to say, Wickedness and Immorality,—is to be considered in the other as the Depth of Prudence, Foresight, Sagacity, Penetration, or what you please.—Here therefore, let us begin our Accounts, and open our Books Debtor and Creditor between one commercial Nation and another.

THE *English*, when a great and rich People, bought vast Quantities of the choicest Wines and Brandies which *France* could produce; and they were known to be the best of Customers by paying for them in ready Money, and even by advancing Sums aforehand!—But when these Dealers shall be reduced to

the lowest Ebb of Want and Indigence; —they will buy more Wines and Brandy than ever they did, and become better Customers than they were before. This is Penetration! This is Sagacity!

AGAIN, the *English*, when in great Prosperity, and overflowing with Riches, were remarkably vain and ostentatious: And their Females in particular (as it was natural for the Sex), vied with each other in all the Parade of Finery: Hence they were induced, and by their Wealth they were enabled, to buy the richest Silks and Velvets, and the most elegant Gold and Silver Laces, that could be wrought in *France*: For nothing was thought to be too costly, provided it came from your Country. In short, *French* Fashions were the Standard for Dress; *French* Cooks taught the Laws of Eating; and *French* Milliners, Taylors, Friseurs, and Dancing-Masters prescribed the Rules of Good-Breeding and Politeness. But when those

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happy,

happy, wished-for Times shall come, when *England* is to be stripped of all its Riches, then these *quondam* good Customers will buy more Silks, more Brocades, more Gold and Silver Lace, and more every Thing than ever they did before,—because they will have nothing to pay: And the whole Tribe of Cooks, Milliners, Taylors, Frizeurs, Perfumers, &c. &c. will think themselves superlatively happy in working gratis for the beggared *English*.—This again is another Specimen of consummate Wisdom, and deep Penetration!

ONCE more, and I have done.—You observe in your * *Compte Rendu*, that Foreigners travelling into *France* import annually no less a Sum than thirty Millions of Livres, equal to 1,363,636*l.* Sterling: And this you consider as so great an Acquisition to the Riches of *France*. [I own,

* Page 96 of the Original, and 99 of the *English* Translation.

I think differently], that you exultingly tell the King, your Master, that the Money expended by these Travellers is one of the most profitable Branches of Commerce in his Kingdom. Whether it be so or not, one Thing is certain, that One-half at least, if not Two-thirds of this enormous Sum is *English* Money, spent by that Race of Beings, whom you in *France* stile *Milords Anglois, et Miladies Angloises*. Therefore, when these new-erected Lords and Ladies, who have at present more Money than Wit, shall be reduced so low, as not to have one *Sous* in their Pockets, I leave you to guess how far the *French* Politesse, either at *Paris* or in the Provinces, will be extended towards them?—and whether such pennyless Strangers will be welcome Guests? Much more might be added; but surely I have said enough, as far as Trade or Commerce is concerned.—I will therefore now proceed to another Subject,—that of *Politics*. For the Blessings which are to attend this grand, and intended Revolution,

tion, whenever it shall happen, will probably be as signal in the political World, as in the commercial.

THE great Grievance of the Colonies, and their bitter Complaints against the Mother-Country were, that they were not governed *à la Monfr.* LOCKE. For, to give them their Due, they hardly made an Objection to any Thing besides. They did not pretend to say, that the Halfpenny Tax on News-papers at first, or the Threepenny Duty on Teas afterwards, were intolerable Burdens in themselves;— but all the Grievance was, that the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and not the Assemblies of *America*, had legalized them, and ordered them to be collected.

“ For Man, every Man, every human Mo-
 “ ral Being, according to the immutable
 “ Laws of GOD, and the genuine Voice
 “ of Nature, is born free, and ought
 “ so to remain as long as he pleases, be-
 “ cause he is the Subject of no Govern-
 “ ment

“ ment whatever, ’till he himself shall
 “ chuse that particular Society, to which
 “ he intends to belong. Therefore he has
 “ an UNALIENABLE Right to be Self-
 “ taxed, Self-governed, and Self-con-
 “ trolled. And to assert the contrary, is
 “ to be an Advocate for Tyranny, and to
 “ be a declared Enemy to the Liberties of
 “ Mankind.”

Now, Sir, as you know, that this is
 the Language of Mr. LOCKE, and of all
 his Disciples, more especially the *Ameri-*
cans, who have made these very Ma-
 xims the Ground of the present War, and
 of all the Miseries consequent thereupon;
 —I ask, in the Name of Common Sense,
 what are you about? And do you really
 wish, that these levelling destructive
 Principles should be made the Standard of
 the Politics of *France*?—If so, What be-
 comes of the Title of your reigning
 Prince? And what Right has LEWIS
 XVI. to any one Province in his Domi-
 nions?

nions? Besides, if *Frenchmen*,—I should rather have said *Frenchwomen* [for the Ladies are the sovereign Judges of what is right or wrong in the Politics of *France*, notwithstanding your Salique Law; and I am informed, that *Republicanism* is now the TON], therefore I say, if those sprightly Females, who lead the Fashion, should learn from their good Allies, the *Americans*, the edifying Lesson, that all Taxes are free Gifts, which may be withheld at Pleasure,—and that no Law is binding, to which the People have not consented,—nay, that every Individual hath a natural unalienable Right to insist on the Restoration of these Privileges, and to inflict exemplary Vengeance on the Offenders;—what have you to say for yourself? And how can you escape this general Indignation?—You, who have paid so many Compliments to the Monarch, which ought to have been addressed to *his Masters*, the People;—and have insinuated,

and

and more than insinuated, that whatever Reforms you proposed to make, ought to be most thankfully received by the Subjects, as Matters of Grace and Favour, and not as what they had a Right to demand, and to COMPEL their Prince to perform. Moreover, you yourself have acknowledged, that the System of Taxation, which you have been considering, is a very bad one, is amazingly absurd, and very impoverishing; and that hardly any one Part thereof is what it ought to be, either in the Manner of assessing or of collecting; or in the various Ways of expending the same. Now, after this frank Confession, with what Face can Monsieur NECKER, or can any of the Ministers of *France*, who have contemned Dr. FRANKLIN, and supported his Cause, object to the bitterest Remonstrances of the *French* Parliaments, or to the most violent Outrages of the People, even were they to break forth into open Rebellion?—Or will you pretend

tend to say, that *Frenchmen* have not at least as just a Right to throw off those Loads of numerous and absurdly complicated Taxes, under which they have so long groaned, as the *Americans* had for revolting from under the *British* Government, on account of an Halfpenny Stamp on a Newspaper, or a Three-penny Tax on a foreign Luxury.— Perhaps indeed you will say, and I think it is the only Thing that can be said with any Appearance of Truth, that it is of little Consequence what political Opinions the *French* Nation shall imbibe in *Theory*, provided there are 200,000 Bayonets ready pointed at their Breasts to make them renounce them all in *Practice*. Be it so. But this, after all, is a most cruel Insult on an injured People, who dare not resent; instead of being any Apology to them for such a Conduct. And indeed, first to teach men the Principles of Rebellion, and then to condemn them if they should offer to rebel, is

characteristical of the worst of Beings, whose Employment is said to be, first to tempt, and then to punish. Besides, Sir, the most refined Politicians of you all may be mistaken, as to the final Event of those Things. For Statesmen ought to have remembered, that there are critical Junctures, even in the most despotic Countries, when Government must yield to popular Clamour, and give up the supposed Delinquents as Victims to appease an enraged MOB; or fall a Sacrifice itself.—This being the Case, what can be the present Intention of the *French* Cabinet in espousing the Cause of the *Americans*? And, now that there are so many Combustibles already heaped together in every Part of *France*, are you really resolved to set fire to the Pile, and to blow the Flames, in order to shew, how dexterously you can extinguish them?—A strange Procedure this!—

BUT, even supposing that no Rebellion

or public Disturbances should ensue from those enthusiastic Notions concerning the Nature of Government, which the *French* Ministry have every where disseminated;—still there is another Evil to be apprehended, of which you and the Ministers seem at present to be totally ignorant:—The Evil I mean, is that perpetual Loss, and continual Emigration of *French* Subjects to *America*; which will certainly take place in consequence of the flattering Invitations they shall receive from thence. When the common People of any Country in *Europe* shall be told, that they may have Land in *America* for nothing, and be their own Landlords;—that *there* they will be free from Vassalage and Services of every Kind, having neither Tithes, nor Rents, nor Taxes, to pay;—but to be at Liberty to do almost as they please [which was very nearly the Case before the present War], Is it to be wondered at, that Numbers should migrate to such a Country? And, in proportion as a freer Communication

munication is opened with it by the daily Arrival of *French* and *American* Ships in each other's Ports, and by their continual Intercourse,—Can it be expected that your new Allies will not decoy, under one Pretence or another, Numbers of the most useful Hands in *France* to cultivate their Wastes? Or is there any one Instance of their desisting from those Artifices, when they had the Power and Opportunity of putting them in Practice? Name it, if you can.—But besides all this, when we farther contemplate the unsettled Disposition of the *French* Nation, the most prone of any to migrate in search of Adventures;—surely, it must be Infatuation in you all, or something worse, to encourage that Disposition in your People, which was too strong before, by throwing Baits in their Way to forsake their own Country, and to settle in *America*.—Yet this is refined Wisdom! This is sound Policy! How unhappy am I that I do not understand a Tittle of it!

HOWEVER, Sir, there is one Circumstance in your *Compte Rendu* which deserves the Thanks of every honest Man and real Patriot, *French* or *English*. It is the faithful Picture you exhibit in your two Charts, or Maps, of the Revenues of *France*, and of the arbitrary, partial, and unequal Modes of assessing and collecting them, and of your own honest, though unsuccessful, Endeavours to correct those Evils which result from their destructive Tendency. An *Englishman* could hardly have had an Idea that such glaring Absurdities could exist, as a *Vingtieme* or Five *per Cent.* Tax on the Profits of Industry and Labour, on the one Hand,—or a Land-Tax and Capitation on the other, left loose to arbitrary Will and Pleasure, without any fixt Standard for regulating the same:—An *Englishman* could have no Notion, that the *Custom-house Duties* on Goods and Merchandise on one Side of a Mountain, a River, a Brook, a Trench, a Wall, a Road, or a Row of Trees, should be totally different from those

those on the other Side, within the same Kingdom:—An *Englishman* would think it very strange, that the fat Sheep and Cattle destined for the Use of the Capital must first be brought to some neighbouring Town, there to be exercised, before Permission could be granted for slaughtering and bringing them to Market:—But above all, he would be shocked at the very Thought, that the Price of Salt [that great Necessary of Life, which can hardly ever be misapplied; therefore no Luxury] should be more than THIRTY Times dearer at one Place, and in one County (perhaps a bordering one), than in another, owing to the great Inequality of the respective tax. These Things an *Englishman* could not have conceived;—nor could he have imagined, that so many *Thousands* of Persons should be employed as *inland* Custom-House Officers, throughout every Part of *France*, to prevent Smuggling from one County to another, on account of this Difference of Taxation;—whereas

an equal and impartial Tax, every where alike [as here in *Englana*], would have superseded the Necessity of employing a single Man.—I own, Sir, I was never able (though I often endeavoured) to make my Countrymen feel the happy Difference between their Condition, and that of their Neighbours, the *French*, in the great Article of Taxation, till your *Compte Rendu* enabled me to do it: To you, therefore, I most willingly refer them for further Satisfaction.

LASTLY, As you have likewise observed, that these *barbarous* Parts of the *French* Constitution [your own Words] cannot be altered or amended till the Arrival of Peace, I sincerely join in your most fervent Wishes, that those peaceable Times were immediately come. Nay more, I will add, what perhaps you do not expect, that I hope to be able to prove in my next Letter, that it is as much the real Interest of *Great Britain*, that *France* should be
a rich

a rich Country, and not a poor One, as I have already proved, that the great Riches of *England* are beneficial to *France*.

IN the mean Time, I have the Honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

J. T.

LET-

LETTER III.

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

Cui Bono?

S I R,

I AM not willing to pay so bad a Compliment to Monsieur NECKER's good Sense, as to suppose him not convinced; that it is the true Interest of *France* to have *Great Britain* a rich Customer, and not a poor One. We are now to reverse the Scene, and to consider *France* as a Customer to *Great Britain*. And if an equal Degree of Evidence should appear in favour of this Side the Question, as there did on the other,—surely nothing less than *national Insanity* can account for the present Antipathy between two Nations, whose real and true Interests are inseparably the same.

ENGLAND

ENGLAND, therefore, according to the present Hypothesis, is to be supposed to be victorious every where. Her Fleets ride triumphant on the Seas; and her Land Forces are crowned with Laurels. Whereas a Train of Misfortunes, or Misconduct, and a Series of bad Discipline, or bad Generalship, Cowardice, or Blunders, or whatever you please, have reduced *France* to the lowest Ebb. [Many indeed here in England would greatly rejoice at such an Event, and think it the happy Æra from which to date their national Grandeur, and Prosperity. For every Country abounds in Smatterers, who have great Zeal, with little Knowledge; and *England*, in particular, contains a Soil and Climate more peculiarly adapted to the Propagation of shallow, half-thinking Politicians, than almost any other upon Earth.]

AMONG the various Errors, which have disturbed the Intellects, and perverted the
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Judgment

Judgment of a great Part of Mankind, none have been more fatal to the Peace and Happiness of the World, than the Glory of Conquest,—and the Jealousy of Trade. With the First of these Notions I shall not meddle at present, because I have already descanted freely upon it in various Parts of my Publications, and may probably touch on it again, before I conclude the present Treatise.—The *Jealousy of Trade* is therefore the great Object now before us. *France* and *England* are Rivals in Trade; and *England* is *jealous*. What therefore is to be done in such an unhappy Situation? And how is this tormenting Passion to be either indulged, or restrained?—Shall it be gratified at the Expence of the Peace and Happiness of Mankind?—Or shall it be so directed and conducted, as to be made subservient to the Public Good?

AFTER considering, and reconsidering this Matter, I can think but of three Things

Things which can be made applicable to the present Case:—The first is, to gratify this destructive Passion to the utmost, by knocking every *Frenchman* on the Head, wherever he can be met with, by Sea or Land, for the unpardonable Crime of making Goods better, or selling them cheaper, than the *English*:—The second is a Consequence of the former, namely, to knock all Customers on the Head, Natives or Foreigners, who shall dare to buy such Goods, instead of purchasing every Thing at the *English* Shop:—The third is, to make better Goods ourselves, and to sell them cheaper;—as a Means of attracting a general Course of Trade to ourselves, without doing Violence to our Neighbours.—

THE two first of these are, what no People upon the Face of the Globe will dare openly to avow.—Yet, it is much to be feared that Motives, not altogether unlike them, have a secret Influence on

the Conduct of Mankind, both nationally, and individually, could they be seen in their proper Colours, without Artifice or Disguise.

BUT happily for the Peace of the World, such Motives are not only too bad to be publickly avowed; but are also too dangerous to be attempted in a general Way; because they would certainly end in the Destruction of the Destroyers. The 3d Proposal, therefore, is the only one which ought to be reduced to Practice; namely, To endeavour to make our own Goods better, and to sell them cheaper than our Rivals. Now, Sir, this is not only what we *English* ought to do, but I aver that it is, what we actually do perform in various Instances; as I shall presently set forth:—And, therefore, our national Jealousy against France is so much the more unreasonable and absurd,


My

MY first Proof shall be brought from your own Country, *Switzerland* itself. For there, if any where, the Manufactures of France may be supposed to have an Advantage over the English, by Means of the Vicinity of the two Countries to each other, without any Sea, and indeed with hardly any Land to intervene. And yet, Sir, you know very well, that in all the Branches of the Metal Trade, viz. Lead and Tin, Copper and Brass, Iron and Steel, the *English* have an universal Superiority:—Also that in many Articles of Woollens, of Worsteds, of mixt Stuffs, Cottons, and Cotton Velvets, Camblets, &c. &c. the *English* are more than a Match for the *French* in every Market from the Lake of *Geneva* to the Lake of *Constance*, and to *Basil* on the *Rhine*. Moreover, as to Chintzes, Callicoes, and all Kinds of *East India* Goods, also Paper Hangings, and some Sort of Furniture, some Kinds of Toys or Trinkets, and all Kinds of mathematical Apparatuses, and

Chirurgical Instruments, the *French* can hardly pretend to vie with the *English* in the Goodness and Cheapness of these Things.—This, Sir, is my first Proof; and surely you will allow, that, as far as it goes, it carries Conviction along with it.

BUT 2dly. I will adduce *America* itself, and compel it to be an unwilling Witness to the same Effect.—Long before our trusty and well-beloved Colonies had openly declared for Independence, they were secretly preparing for this grand Event. From Year to Year they were laying in larger Stores of such Goods as were not of a perishable Nature, but might be warehoused without Loss or Waste: And during the two Years immediately preceding their famous Non-importation Scheme, they strained every Nerve, and stretched their Credit to the utmost, in order to accumulate the greatest Quantities of all Sorts of *English* Manufactures. Unhappily

pily for this credulous Country, they succeeded but too well in all their Devices, and contracted Debts to the Amount of 4,000,000l. Sterling. Then they pulled off the Mask, and threatened immediate Destruction to our very Being, as a trading Nation, if we dared to require them to contribute to the general Expence, which they had occasioned. “ The Trade of
 “ the Colonies, Sir, was, the Trade of
 “ Trades. For all others were nothing,
 “ and less than nothing, in Comparifon
 “ thereto. Poor *England* would be ruin-
 “ ed; the Ports of *London, Bristol, Li-*
 “ *verpool, Glasgow, &c. &c. &c.* would
 “ become mere Deferts, were it not for
 “ the Colonies:—All our Manufactures at
 “ *Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Manchef-*
 “ *ter, Leeds, Halifax,* and in all the
 “ Cloathing Counties, would be entirely at
 “ a Stand, and Grass would grow in our
 “ Streets.”—These Calamities would cer-
 tainly befall us, unless the Colonists should
 still

still enjoy the same privileges as ourselves, with many additional Ones;—and unless they should have their Property still defended, their Battles fought both by Land and Sea, and their Wars maintained, without being *obliged* to pay a single Sixpence towards any of them,  more than they themselves should chuse to give.

THE *Americans* having thus contracted a Debt of Four Millions Sterling, due to our Merchants, and having at the same Time involved the Mother-Country in a new national Debt of upwards of Fifty Millions, incurred in their Defence, began to act their Parts with less Reserve. Their next Scheme was, to set up Manufactures of their own, in Opposition to ours,—and also to import Manufactures from *France*, from *Holland*, and every other Country, in order to supersede the Use of ours. And then our Doom was fixed for ever! We were lost and undone!

WELL,

WELL, Sir, all these Schemes having been tried, and tried again, what was the Consequence?—Almost every one of them has failed:—And Trade, after some Interruption, has, for the most Part, returned into its former Channel. Nay, *French* Ships, and other neutral Bottoms [as long as the Farce of Neutrality could possibly be acted], were employed in carrying *British* Manufactures to her rebellious Colonies.—So that these, our *quondam* Customers, now become most bitter Enemies, instead of being able to supply themselves out of their own Stores, or to procure Supplies from other Countries, were obliged, for their own Sakes, to have Recourse again to the Manufactures of *England*:—And that too at an Expence of at least Forty *per Cent.* dearer than they might have purchased the same, had they continued in their Allegiance, and had known when they were well.

AFTER these Examples, both of *Switzerland* and of the Colonies, I hope you do not expect any other Proofs in confirmation of this Point;—nay, I flatter myself, that both *French* and *English* Readers are, by this Time, perfectly convinced that there are several Species of *English* Manufactures, both much cheaper, and much more desirable in themselves, than those of *France*: Consequently, that we ought not to be frightened with that Bugbear any more, *viz.*—of the *French* under-selling us in Foreign Markets; I mean in such Articles as these above-mentioned.

THIS being the Case, it is surely by no Means incredible, that the *English* Manufactures should find a Vent in *France*, or that the *French* Nation should have a peculiar Fondness for them.—That these Manufactures are much cheaper, hath been proved already by a Series of Evidence not to be resisted:—And that they are also more *desirable* in themselves,

themselves, that is, better made, more convenient for Use, neater, more elegantly finished, and, in general, better enamelled or polished, is confessed by all; and more especially by our own ungrateful Colonists, who would have been the last of all Men living, to have given a Preference to *English* Manufactures, if they could have known where to have got better.

THE Principles both of *Cheapness* and *intrinsic Goodness* being thus established, Motives very sufficient in themselves to recommend the Use of *English* Manufactures to any People, if not *too poor* to buy them,—I will now add another Inducement, which operates on the *French* Nation with uncommon Force and Energy; and that is, *Novelty, Variety, and Shew*.—The Passion of wishing to be *distinguished* is indeed universally implanted in human Nature; and may be made subservient both to good and bad Purposes, according as it is applied. But I think it

must be allowed, that the *French* Nation possess it in a higher Degree than most others. Hence it follows, that as several Species of *English* Manufactures are not only cheaper, and better, than what can be procured elsewhere,—but have likewise this farther Advantage, when they enter *France*,—that they are *foreign*,—therefore *novel*,—and therefore afford greater *Variety*;—they have this additional Recommendation, that they *attract* the Notice of the Beholders more strongly than *French* Manufactures of the same Kind can be supposed to do. Indeed we often find, that this Passion for Variety, and for being distinguished thereby, operates so powerfully as to supersede most other Considerations,—Were it not so, how can you account for that ardent Desire in many *French* Ladies to be dressed in *English* Silks, and to wear *English* Ribbons, *English* Gloves, &c. &c. &c.—whilst our *English* Ladies are equally unhappy, unless they can appear in *French*?

Nay,

Nay, What else can account for that Custom in the Royal Palaces of *France*, which appears so strange in our Eyes, and so repugnant to our Ideas?—I mean the permitting very considerable Quantities of *English* Jewels, and various Toys and Trinkets [*Bijouterie d'Angleterre*] to be sold *openly*, and *avowedly* as *English*, at the *Palais-Royal* in *Paris*, also at *Versailles*, *Fontainbleau*, &c. &c. even within the Hearing of the King, if his Majesty should happen to be passing by. That this is, or at least, that this was the Fact, I appeal to yourself,—I appeal to all the World.—But I have done. For surely this Part of the Subject requires no farther Illustration.

LET us therefore now consider, Whether it be the Interest of *Great Britain* to reduce such a Kingdom, and so disposed towards the Use of our Manufactures, to Want and Beggary, had she really the Power of effecting such a Catastrophe?—On the contrary,
Whether

Whether it be not our true Interest to promote the Prosperity of *France* by all just and honourable Means, for the very same Reason, that we ought to promote our own?— One or the other of these Alternatives must be right, and the other wrong. If *France* should grow poorer, she must be so much the worse Customer to *England*;—if richer, probably so much the better. This is so plain a Case, that one would think, national Prejudice itself could not be able to prevent such an evident truth from being universally acknowledged, and assented to. But as this Demon, the *Jealousy of Trade*, puts on various Shapes, in order to haunt and terrify Mankind with dreadful Panics, and groundless Fears, I will endeavour to pursue him throughout all his Forms,—in order to convince the World, if I can, that Providence never designed us to be Beasts of Prey, to bite and devour one another; but, on the contrary,—that whatever is a social Duty in a moral Sense, was likewise intended, by our
wise

wife and gracious Creator, to be our real, lasting, and national Interest in a commercial. And in the Prosecution of an Undertaking of this Nature, I cannot doubt of the warmest Wishes of every Lover of Mankind and *real* Patriot, *French* or *English*; more especially of the benevolent Monsieur NECKER.—I therefore here beg his Acceptance of my best Thanks for giving me an Opportunity of pursuing this favourite Subject;—and that he would believe me to be,

His obliged,

and devoted humble Servant,

J. T.

LET-

LETTER IV.

Further Considerations on the Unreasonableness of the Jealousy of Trade, when attempting to exclude Rivals, and of the Inefficacy of it toward the attaining of any good End whatever.

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

Cui Bono?

S I R,

FROM the Days of HESIOD to the present Hour, it has been observed, that two of a Trade can never agree. The Catalogue which HESIOD gives of these Contenders is in Part so ludicrous, that I cannot suppose that *Beggars* and *Ballad-singers* were armed by any Legislature with monopolizing and exclusive Privileges. Nay, I think it may be inferred from the
Poet's

Poet's own Words, that all Trades were once *free*; else, why should he declare, that an Emulation among Tradesmen was for the Public Good? Why, I say, unless that Emulation was permitted to operate?

BUT whether there were exclusive Companies of Trades subsisting at that Juncture, or not, we know that in Process of Time the monopolizing Spirit prevailed almost every where; so that no Opportunity was omitted of establishing Companies of Restraint and Exclusion under one Pretence or other.

IN my late Answer to Mr. LOCKE'S Theory of Government, I have shewn [Page 310], that the first Charters given to Tradesmen by Gothic Princes, and their feudal Barons, were Charters of *meer Protection*. These were greatly wanted, and very necessary in a barbarous Age, when all *Europe* was over-run with

armed Men, who were in fact no better than *Banditti*, and who thought they had a Right to seize on those, and on their Property, as lawful Plunder, who were not protected. But when a Set of persecuted Artificers were once collected together, by Means of a Charter, into a Place of Strength and Safety, and near some great Castle, they were secured from farther Insults; so that neither the Freebooters of the Prince, nor of the Barons, dared to molest them. Also being empowered to elect their own Magistrates, and to make By-Laws for their better Government, they had the Advantage of having their Differences decided among themselves, and Justice administered at their own Doors. Now all this was right and proper; and had these Mechanics proceeded no farther in the Affair of Incorporation, and their Desire of Protection, they would have done a singular Service both to themselves, and to Mankind. But unhappily for the Public; and in the

End

End for themselves, this would not content them: For they were no sooner secured in their own Property, and permitted to enjoy the Fruits of their Industry and Labour, than they began to invade the Property of others; and from being persecuted, they commenced violent Persecutors. Under Pretence of making Regulations for the Good of Trade, and of keeping up the Credit of Manufactures, they introduced Monopolies and Exclusions without Number; so that, were a Collection to be made of all the Tricks, Artifices, and Disguises which these Men introduced under the Mask of Zeal for the public Good, but in Reality to discourage Emulation, and to prevent Rivals in their respective Trades, perhaps it would exhibit one of the most curious Pictures of human Knavery, blended with human Folly, that ever appeared,

BUT indeed, Sir, you, in *France*, have

rendered this Exhibition unnecessary on our Part; consequently all that we have to do, is to add a few Touches to your capital Piece. Your Predecessor, Monsieur TURGOT, had amassed together such Heaps of Absurdities, copied from the By-laws, and exclusive Restrictions of your several Companies of Trades, in order to expose both their Knavery, and their Folly, that I really thought, when he had obtained a solemn Bed of Justice from his Royal Master at *Versailles*, 12th of *March*, 1776, for the Abolition of them,—Impudence itself would not have been able to have withstood the Force of such complicated Evidence. And I congratulated the Minister, who had honoured me with a printed Copy of the Proceedings, on the great Victory he had gained over the greatest Enemies of *France*, *Ignorance*, *Idleness*, and *Fraud*; Victories of more real Consequence to the Grandeur and Prosperity of any Kingdom, than all the Battles won by her most august Sovereigns,

vereigns, or ablest Generals. But alas! his Triumph was but short; — a fine Dream [*beau Reve*] as he expressed it in a subsequent Letter, a Phantom, and no Reality. And the Reward he received, for attempting to do his Country such eminent Service, was to be discarded.

SIR, in these Particulars [that is, in the demolishing exclusive Charters] you must allow, that *England* enjoys a manifest Superiority over France. Our exclusive Corporations, and Companies of Trades in Towns and Cities, have at present very little Power of doing Mischiefs, compared with what they formerly had. For Men's Eyes begin to be opened every where: And the flourishing State of those great manufacturing Places in *England* [the greatest perhaps in the known World, certainly the greatest in *Europe*], where every Man enjoys PERFECT FREEDOM to follow that Course of Trade to which his
Genius

Genius, or Circumstances are best suited; —I say, this flourishing State has made the *dullest* of us to *feel*, that Industry and Ingenuity are best excited by constant Emulation; and that no Man ought to be armed with the Power of a Law, or with an exclusive Privilege, to crush his Rival. Nay, we can go farther: For we not only *feel*, but also *reason* a little on this Head:—I say, a little, for alas! it is not much. May our reasoning Faculties daily gather Strength, so that good Sense and *real Patriotism* may every where prevail! However, we can even now discern clearly enough, that the Schemes of short-sighted Tradesmen, in excluding their Brother-Tradesmen from being their Rivals, must end in their own Loss and Disappointment; because such Devices are no other than palpable Cheats put upon themselves. Take, for Instance, the following Illustration: A Set of Mechanics, or common Tradesmen, a Baker, a Butcher, a Shoe-maker, a Carpenter, a

1 Shop-keeper,

Shop-keeper, and a Taylor, being met together in deep Consultation, resolve to exclude all those Interlopers, who, not having served regular Apprenticeships, dare to manufacture Goods, or, not being free of Companies and Corporations, dare to vend them.—Filled with the patriotic Resolution of promoting the Good of Trade (as their cant Phrase is) the Baker opens the Affair. He observes with great Sagacity, that Butchers, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Shop-keepers, Taylors, &c. &c. whether free or not free, and whether regularly bred to their respective Trades or not,—all alike eat *Bread*. Therefore he has no Objection against Numbers of such Tradesmen settling near him, in order that they may eat *his* Bread: But as to that impudent, interloping Fellow [pointing at the poor Non-Freeman Baker] who has set up a Shop in his Neighbourhood to take away his Customers, he is resolved to punish him, as a Terror to others. The Butcher

comes

comes next; and he follows the Baker in the same Strain;—and so on, 'till the Farce has quite gone round.—And then at the Foot of the Account these wise Schemers have discovered, that they have gained just nothing at all; but on the contrary, that, by their mutual Exclusions, they have damped the Spirit of Industry and Emulation both in themselves and others.

—THUS, Sir, we reason in *England*: And what is much better, in many Cases *thus* we act. For though in such a Constitution as ours, it is dangerous to meddle with antient Charters, even where their Faults are very apparent, yet we frequently correct their bad Effects, without seeming to touch the Foundation. The Liberty of Trade granted by Acts of Parliament to Persons of a certain Description [which Privilege is now extended to all who serve in the Militia,] goes a great Way towards defeating the
Projects,

Projects, and preventing the monopolizing Mischiefs of ignorant, short-sighted Tradesmen. But above all, our Courts of Justice do, for the most Part, favour the general Liberty of the Subject, wherever they can; for when any Cause of this Nature is brought before them, the Judges, as well as the Counsel, hardly ever fail to observe, in summing up the Evidence, that the Ground of Complaint furnishes the strongest Proof against the Justice of the Complainant's Case. " Had the
 " persecuted Defendant, say they, been
 " an unthrifty, improvident, or unskil-
 " ful Man;—had he sold his Goods
 " dearer, or made them worse than the
 " Plaintiffs;—these People would have
 " taken no Notice of him for such
 " Misdemeanors, notwithstanding their
 " Boasts for the Good of Trade, and
 " for supporting the Credit of Manu-
 " factures; but would have permitted
 " him to be ruined in his own Way.

H

" Whereas

“ Whereas the real Objection of his
 “ Prosecutors is plainly this ; he is more
 “ careful, more frugal, more dextrous, and
 “ ingenious than they are : And this is the
 “ unpardonable Crime, which they are now
 “ prosecuting, and wishing to punish.”

Now, Sir, as these Arguments are just and right ; and as in all these Proceedings we prove ourselves to be much more enlightened than you are in *France* [I speak of your practical Knowledge, not of your theoretical], surely one might have expected, that we should have been able to have extended to the Case of rival Nations the same Train of Reasoning, which we had so judiciously applied to the Case of rival Individuals. But alas ! I know not how it is, here our reasoning Faculties (where most wanted) totally fail us : And here we seem to be arrived at our *Ne plus ultra* : For our Zeal is so blinded, that we cannot allow

the same Maxims to be as conclusive in the one Case as in the other, though they certainly are. “What? says the honest *Englishman*, ought we not to be jealous of the Increase of the Trade of *France*, which is our *Rival*? Ought we not to prevent her from growing rich, if we possibly can? Surely we ought; because her Riches are our Poverty; and her Poverty is our Riches. We are therefore the natural, and necessary Enemies to each other; and so must remain till the End of Time.”—

THOUSANDS, Sir, and Tens of Thousands, implicitly admit these Positions without Examination: Nay, many are so credulous as to make them a Part of their political and commercial Creeds, though notorious Unbelievers in Things of a better Nature. For my Part, I never was, and probably never shall be, a Convert to such Doctrines. The

Multitude may believe what they please ; but I hope I am a Protestant of a more consistent Texture, than to inscribe Infallibility to any human Beings whatever. After having rejected the Pretensions of the Pope and his Conclave, it is hard if it should be expected, that I should blindly submit to the idle Decisions of Alehouse Politicians, —or, what is still worse, to the venal Declamations of Party-scribblers. Could it indeed be made to appear, that the Supreme Being is not *able*, or if able, is not *willing*, to govern two such large Districts as *France* and *England*, with as much Wisdom and Goodness as our earthly Governors can make the seemingly clashing Interests of different Cities, Towns, or Individuals, within their own Dominions, to harmonize together for the Good of the Whole ; —I should then be inclined to believe, that national Antipathies ought to be encouraged, and that frequent Wars, as a Consequence thereof, ought to be prosecuted

secuted with unrelenting Vengeance. But, I hope, I have made the contrary to appear with an Evidence not easily to be shaken, much less confuted.

HOWEVER, I have not yet exhausted my Subject: For, in Addition to every Thing which hath been already advanced, I now beg leave to observe, that even the *Pretences* for national Jealousies between *France* and *England*, are *much less plausible* than those which might have arisen between any two neighbouring Countries on the Globe. Thus, for Example, the Genius of a *Frenchman*, nationally considered, is quick and lively, rapid and desultory; that of an *Englishman* penetrating and thoughtful, methodical and correct. In the one, *Fancy* is predominant; in the other, *Judgment*. The *Frenchman's* brilliant *Fancy* leads him to excel in almost all the Works of Ornament and Shew: The *Englishman's* solid *Judgment* may be traced in the Manufacture of such Goods

as are fitteſt for general Uſe and Convenience. A *Frenchman* wiſhes to ſtrike the Eye of the Spectator at the firſt Glance; an *Engliſhman* ſtrives to call forth his Attention to examine the Goodneſs of the Work, and the Skill and Contrivance of the Workman. Theſe Obſervations have been often made: Indeed they are very obvious. Why then is not the proper Inference deduced from them?—An Inference of ſo much Conſequence to the Peace and Happineſs of Mankind? Name-ly, that ſuch different Talents and Capacities cannot, properly ſpeaking, be Rivals to each other; for they act in different Spheres, and tend to different Ends and Uſes. Therefore there is ſo much the leſs colourable Pretext for national Jealouſy between *France* and *England*, reſpecting Trade, in aſmuch as there can hardly be a national Competition between them.

MOREOVER, as the Matter which we
are

are now upon, is of such vast Importance to the Peace and Happiness of Society,—I must yet consider it in another Point of View.—The Illustration of the Subject may perhaps appear to some Readers to be too ludicrous: But as the Observations are just, and the Consequences very momentous, I shall be less anxious respecting any Censure on that Head. *Hæ Nugæ seria ducunt.*—

THE Province of *Monfieur la Valet*, and of *Monf. le Friseur*, and of *Mademoiselle la Coiffeuse*, &c. is to fabricate, with their own Fingers, those pretty Beings called *Beaux* and *Belles*;—Things, which for the most Part owe their Existence to a lively Conception, and a sprightly undefinable *Je ne ſçai quoi*. Consequently no System of Machines, properly speaking, can be used, in the Formation of such *Animalculæ*, and in giving them the finished Grace. For all depends on the present Fancy, Taste, or Ton. In a Word, the Mode or Fashion

shion, is the great Empire in which *France* has reigned, and probably will always reign, without a Rival. The Case of the plodding *Englishman* is of a quite different Complexion. He excels in the Distribution of Labour into distinct Portions, and of adjusting each Portion to the Skill, and Strength, and Age, and Sex of the Person to be employed. Moreover, he has hardly his Equal in the Construction of Machines for the various Purposes of different Manufactures. But he cannot adapt the Coggs of his Wheels, his Screws, his Pullies, or his Levers, his Wind, his Water, or his Fire Engines, to the Fabrication of *Beaux* and *Belles*. This is an Affair quite distinct, and will ever so remain: Consequently, in these Things he is necessarily deficient. Indeed, had it been possible for him to have applied his mechanic Genius and commercial Machines to such Purposes, there is no Doubt to be made but the *British* Manufactures

factures of Beaux and Belles would have been the best and cheapest, and the most *exquisitely polished* upon Earth.

HENCE therefore it seems to follow, that both the *French* and the *English* ought to be content with their respective Talents, and not to attempt those Things, in the Execution of which they will, for the most part, be sure to fail. And if this Inference be a just one, it will also follow, that were the two Nations to enjoy a solid Peace [which they hardly ever will do, while this Fiend, the *Jealousy of Trade*, is sowing Discord between them], they would be much the richer, and if the richer, so much the better Customers to each other. In such a Case, as *France* increased in Wealth, the *Frenchman* would wish to enjoy sundry Articles of Use and Convenience, which he never would have thought of in his poor Estate: And therefore he would purchase them (either mediately or immediately) at the *English* Market; I because

because there is the greatest Choice and Variety, and because there also he will find almost all Kinds of Manufactures made the best, and sold the cheapest. On the other Hand, in Proportion as *England* grew richer, the *English* of both Sexes would wish to distinguish themselves in *French* Modes and Fashions, and to improve, as Lord CHESTERFIELD phrases it, in those Graces which are not the Growth of this Country.

HERE then I ask, Is there any Thing unnatural in such Proceedings? Any Thing on either Side dishonourable or base? Why therefore such an Outcry about the Loss of Trade? And what Reason can be assigned for harbouring national Antipathies against each other? Nay, I will go farther: — Supposing that both Sides kept within *certain Limits*, which it is the Business of every wise Legislature to regulate and prescribe; and supposing that they did not run into *Excess*, what is there

there which the strictest Moralist could censure, or the wisest Statesman, and most enlightened Patriot, could wish to alter in the Conduct of either Nation? Much more might be added; but truly I have said enough.—At least, if by this Time you and others will not acknowledge yourselves Converts to my Doctrine, I am fully persuaded that you will give me some Credit for the Goodness of my Intention, though at the Expence of my Understanding. Better pleased with such a Compliment, than with a contrary one,

I have the Honour to be,

Your obliged,

And devoted humble Servant,

J. T.

L E T T E R V.

The Case stated between England and America, supposing England to be victorious, and the Americans vanquished in this Dispute.

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

Cui Bono?

S I R,

ENGLAND and America are at War, and have been so for a Series of Years. Immense Treasures have been spent, Torrents of Blood spilt, numberless Lives lost, besides those who fell in Battle; and Confusion, and all Kinds of evil Works have every where prevailed, in order to obtain, — What? *England* says, that she fights to recover the Allegiance of her revolted Colonies: — And *America*, that she fights for Independence.

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I DO not here enter into the Question, which Side was originally, or is now to blame, according to the Terms of the *English* Constitution?—Who are in the Right, and who in the Wrong in this unhappy Dispute?—That is a distinct Consideration, foreign to the Subject now before us. My present Business is simply this:—To inquire, What Benefits or Advantages are to be obtained by Successes on either Side, supposing either Side to be victorious?

AND first, as to *England's* recovering *America*. *England* therefore is supposed to prevail; and the Rebellion to be suppressed.—Nay, that we may not do Things by Halves, we will suppose farther, that an Union as complete, and a Reconciliation as cordial, have at last taken place, as ever did. Therefore *Cui Bono?* And what Benefits, *when Accounts are fairly balanced,* is *England*

to

to receive from this Return of *American* Allegiance?

THREE Things are said to be the End and Object of our present unremitting Endeavours:

FIRST, We propose to recover our lost Trade with the Colonies.

SECONDLY, We hope, that when a Reconciliation shall take place, the *Americans* will be persuaded (though *not compelled*) to bear some Share in the general Expences of the Empire.

AND thirdly, We conceive, that by their Submission and Obedience we shall recover our wonted Renown and national Glory.

THESE are all the Motives, real or pretended, which can be assigned for the
Continuance

Continuance of the present War. Let us therefore examine each of them separately; and then we may the better attend to their collective Force.

AND first, we propose the Recovery of our Trade. Trade, Sir, is a very vague Term; and may stand for any commercial Intercourse between Nation and Nation, or between Man and Man, however carried on. But, in the Place before us, the Term must signify the Exportation of British Manufactures into *America*, and the Importation of *American* Produce into *Britain*. This Exportation, and this Importation, it seems, we have lost: And War and Victory are proposed as the properest of all Measures for the Reparation of our Losses. Now it happens very unluckily for the Advocates of the present War, that both these Propositions are egregiously false:—False, I mean, in the Sense by them intended. For we have no otherwise
lost

lost our Trade with *America*, than as both the *Americans* and ourselves are become much the poorer, and therefore so much the worse Customers to each other, by reason of those enormous Expences, which the War has occasioned:—At the same Time, that the Price of the Goods and Commodities of the respective Countries is prodigiously enhanced to the Consumers;—enhanced, I say, on account of higher Freights, higher Insurances, and greater Risques;—and above all on account of those vast Profits which Foreigners with their neutral Bottoms gain at present, by being the sole Agents, Factors, and Carriers between the two Countries.

THIS being the Case, and such the Disadvantages on both Sides, is it to be wondered at, that the Trade between *England* and *America* should not be at present in a flourishing Condition? How indeed could it be otherwise in such a State of Things?—At the same Time, it is proper

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per to ask, Will the Continuance of the War, and those mutual Beggaries and Bankruptcies consequent thereupon; — Will these Things be a Means of reviving our Trade, and of making either Side the richer, or the better Customers?—The Man who chuses to maintain such a Paradox, is not to be envied on account of his Logic. He may say what he pleases.

HERETOFORE it was a Kind of unpardonable Offence to endeavour to convince the *English*, that their Manufactures had a Preference to those of other Nations in point of *Cheapness*. For the *English* have a most unaccountable Propensity towards the gloomy and the dismal in their Prospects concerning Trade. And nothing seems to please them better, as the celebrated Lord CHESTERFIELD used to say, than gravely to be told, that they are *ruined and undone*. Therefore his Friend Lord BOLINGBROKE grounded all his

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patriotic

patriotic Dissertations on this very Basis;— for which worthy Deeds he, and his Brother Patriots were held in such high Esteem by the good People of *England* during the long, pacific, and wealth-creating Reign [if I might use such a Term] of Sir R. WALPOLE, as approached almost to Adoration. Indeed, long before them, *ruined and undone* was the Burden of the Song. An Author of some Repute, one JOSHUA GEE, was so possessed with this desponding Notion, that he undertook to demonstrate by Figures, and Tables of Accounts, that the Balances of Trade were almost every where prodigiously against us: So that according to this comfortable Demonstration, there would not have remained One Shilling in *Great-Britain* for these 60 Years last past. Yet, Sir, we have spent and lavished away, since that Period, chiefly in unnecessary and unprofitable Wars, upwards of 150,000,000l. sterling:—A sure Proof that he was miserably

rably deceived in his Calculations; tho' a most melancholy Reflection on our own Prudence.

HOWEVER, that which Reason and Argument could not do, respecting Trade, Experience itself has at last effected. For now the *English* Merchants and Manufacturers find and feel, that their Goods at an *American* Market (notwithstanding all the present Disadvantages they labour under) are allowed to be better and cheaper, than the like Articles of other Nations, the *Americans* being the Judges. This is a happy Omen, which may tend to many good Consequences, if properly improved. For from hence it undeniably follows, that the *Americans* will buy our Goods, when it is their *Interest*, and when they are *able* so to do, notwithstanding the bitterest Antipathy they can conceive against us. And I defy any Man to prove that they ever did buy our Goods, contrary to their own Interests, even du-

ring the most flattering Periods of their Friendship. [One Thing however I must confess, that heretofore they frequently bought *English* Merchandise, when they knew they were not able, and *never intended* to pay for them. And with those very Capitals purchased Estates, or carried on a Trade to the *Spanish* Main. Therefore if this be meant by the Complainants, when they lament the Loss of the *American* Trade, I hope we shall never recover such a Trade for the future: That is, never trust them to the same Amount. The bad Debts of the *Americans* to this Country, long before the present Disturbances, were great beyond Imagination:—much greater than the Sums owing to *England* from all the World besides.]

MOREOVER we now see, and know, that the best Produce of *America* can find its Way into *England*, if we give the best Price, notwithstanding those Obsta-

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cles,

cles, which Civil Wars, and national Animosities, accompanied with every other Difficulty and Discouragement, can throw in the Way. The Tobacco of those revolted Colonies, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, with the valuable Productions of other Colonies, are now bought and sold as openly and avowedly, even at public Auctions, in all our great Sea-ports, as before the War. Therefore after such Proofs, what is it, which we can wish for, or desire more? And if this be not sufficient to convince us, that the Conquest of *America*,—supposing it ever so feasible,—can be of no Manner of Use in a mercantile View,—I should be glad to know, what Kind of Proof will, or can be thought sufficient? In a Word, if daily Experience, and Matters of Fact are not able to bring us to a Confession, that our Plan is totally wrong, I know not what else to have recourse to, but to declare openly and without Reserve, that we are determined to act both against
 Conviction—

Conviction—and against our own Interest,
 —*Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris.*

BUT we are told in the second Place,
 “ That the Reduction of *America* would
 be a Means of *persuading* the People on
 that Side of the *Atlantic* to bear some
 Share, and to contribute something to-
 wards our heavy, national Expences.”
 Good! And then the Argument will
 run somewhat to the following Effect;
 though not in the same Words.—

“ After we have for so many Years en-
 “ deavoured to subdue the *Bodies* of the
 “ *Americans* by the Force of Arms, we
 “ will for the future disclaim all such
 “ Methods; because we intend to sub-
 “ jugate their *Minds* by the superior
 “ Power of our enchanting Eloquence.
 “ We will tell them, and they will cer-
 “ tainly believe us, that we have not a
 “ Wish to employ compulsive Measures
 “ any more. We now renounce, detest,
 “ and

“ and abjure all Authority and Juris-
 “ diction over them. They shall enjoy
 “ their unalienable Rights, be they what-
 “ ever they may. They shall make
 “ their own Laws, and be their own
 “ Masters in every Thing; and if they
 “ chuse to pay any Taxes,—for that
 “ shall be entirely left to their own Dis-
 “ cretion,—they shall tax themselves.
 “ But then, after we have made them
 “ believe all these fine Things, we will
 “ pour upon them such an Army of
 “ well-chosen Tropes and Metaphors,
 “ as they shall not be able to withstand;
 “ —notwithstanding they have so long
 “ withstood our Guns and Bayonets.
 “ Nay more,—though in the Times of
 “ their Prosperity, when they were
 “ both rich and able,—they did not
 “ vouchsafe to defray one-half of their
 “ own civil and military Expences,—
 “ much less to contribute a single Shil-
 “ ling towards the Support of ours;—
 “ yet when they shall become Bankrupts
 “ and

“ and Paupers, not able to subsist them-
 “ selves, then we will persuade them to
 “ give and grant, out of the Abundance
 “ of their Poverty, rich Supplies both
 “ for their Uses, and for ours too. And
 “ as this is so promising a Scheme, and
 “ so sure of Success, we will persevere
 “ in it, and maintain the War, Year af-
 “ ter Year, cost what it will, till we
 “ have accomplished it:”

SIR, in my younger Days, I had the
 Honour of being acquainted with a very
 great Man, an original Genius in the
 learned World. He used to say, that the
 reasoning Faculties of human Beings were
 of a Nature so precarious, that it was
 impossible to ensure the Enjoyment of
 them, *in all Respects*, even for a Day.
 A Phrensy, or some other Species of
 Infanity, might deprive a Man of the
 Use and Exercise of them, either in
 Whole, *or in Part*, for a shorter or a
 longer Time, and perhaps for ever.—

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If so, says he, may we not extend the Observation a little farther; and conclude, from *Analogy*, that whole Bodies of Men, large Societies, and even Nations, may be subject, in *some Respects*, to similar Maladies, and Fits of Folly?—Nothing less than some such Supposition can account for Half the glaring Absurdities, and those Inconsistencies of Character and Conduct, which are to be met with in History, and which we find in the World.

I WILL not take upon me to defend this eminent Prelate's Mode of accounting for those public Inconsistencies, and Contradictions of Character, with a Narration of which History every where abounds; but one Thing I will be bold to say, That were the *English*, the *French*, the *Americans*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Dutch*, to be afflicted with a Deprivation of their Senses, respecting the Subject now before us, they could not give stronger Speci-

mens of national Infanity, than they give at present, by persevering in a Series of absurd and ruinous Schemes, so very repugnant to every Principle of Reason, and so diametrically opposite to their own essential Interests.

THE last Motive assigned for persisting in our expensive Schemes towards the Recovery of *America*, is, in order to recover our antient Glory.

GLORY, Sir, as far as concerns the present Case, may be considered in a Two-fold View: First, The Glory, or Honour of having an immensely extended Empire: And secondly, the Glory or Character of being brave and courageous.

If the former of these should be here meant, then there is a most important Question first to be determined: Namely, Whether it be for our *real Interest* and *national Advantage*, to have
such

such an immensely extended Empire, as we now have, or lately had? And whether any Man will undertake to prove, that the *English* Nation is, or will be the happier, the richer, the wiser, or the stronger, by having such an unmanageable Empire? I say, all these Things must be previously proved.—And then it will be Time enough for us to consider, how far our Glory is concerned in the Recovery of a nominal Sovereignty over those immense and distant Regions:— I say, a *nominal* one; for at best it was no other, even when we were fighting their Battles, and spending our best Blood and Treasure in their Cause: ↵ Even then we were not permitted to press a single *American on Shore*, though our Ships of War in their Harbours were filled with *English* Sailors *pressed* for their Defence. The late Governor *Hutchinson* assured me of this Fact. He said, he never would allow a Press-Warrant to be executed in the Town of *Boston*,

except for *apprehending English Deserters*: And he believed the same Rule prevailed all over *America*. Yet this was the Man, whose House the *Bostonians* demolished, before the War broke out, and whom Dr. *Franklin* and others persecuted with unremitting Rage, for being too complaisant to the *English* Government.—Surely, surely, our Glory is deeply concerned in maintaining or recovering such a Sovereignty as this! It is much to our Honour!

BUT it seems, the Rules of national Honour and Glory are different from all other Rules, and must not be judged of by the Principles of Reason and Common Sense. The Doge of *Venice*, for instance, proceeds annually in great State and Pomp, to marry the *Adriatic Sea*. And to be sure, a glorious Sight it is to the *Venetians*, to see their Sovereign married to a Spouse, so very tractable, and so full of Complaisance.: They must think themselves

themselves much the better, the richer, the wiser, and the stronger, by Means of this happy Match. However, as Custom has given a Sanction to the Ceremony; let it pass:—The Populace of *Venice* expect it, as their annual Holiday.—Nevertheless, were his Highness to proceed still farther;—were he to sail down the *Adriatic*, and all the Length of the *Mediterranean* in his gilded Vessel of State, with silken Sails and painted Streamers;—were he to pass the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and to sail into the Midst of the great *Atlantic Ocean*, in order to marry another Wife, still more gentle, more governable and submissive:—What would the World;—nay, what would even the *Venetians* say to this additional Expence of empty Pomp and Ceremony?—The Application is obvious.

As to the second Sense of Glory, permit me to ask, who doth, or who can accuse our Forces either by Land, or
Sea,

Sea, of the Want of Valour, and national Courage?—Indeed on this Head there is no need, that we should be very lavish in our own Praises. In a War of such Length as the present, there is no Doubt to be made, but that the *English* have given some Instances of bad Conduct: Nay, perhaps, I might add, that we did not always *feel bold* any more than our Neighbours.—But who is to throw the first Stone at us on that Account?—Surely not the *Americans*:—And if your own [*French*] Relations of some late Engagements, especially by Sea, can be depended on, not the *French*. And as to the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, when they call our Bravery or Courage in Question (which they do not seem at all disposed to do) it will be soon enough then to retort the Accusation, and to vindicate our Honour. In the mean Time, let it be observed, that so far from accusing us of national Timidity or the Want of Courage, all the Nations in *Europe* unanimously blame

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us for our great Obstinacy, and stubborn Perseverance in this unequal Contest: They do not reproach us as being *Cowards*, but as *Don Quixottes*, who are determined to encounter Windmills, in order to display our Valour.

UPON the whole, and in every View, whether commercial, or fiscal, or even in point of national Honour, there is not the Shadow of an Argument to be alledged for our present Conduct. Were *America* this Moment to lay herself at our Feet, and to submit to a *Carte blanche*, provided we would take her again into Favour,—it is evidently our *Interest* not to accept of such a Present.—Unless indeed we will adopt Dr. FRANKLIN'S Notion, which he very often publicly maintained, namely, That it is the Interest of the Inhabitants of this Country to migrate to *America*, and to let this Island become a *Desert*, or at least a Province to that great Empire.

THIS,

THIS, Sir, recalls to my Mind a Case not altogether dissimilar to the Point now before us. Our former Princes, our EDWARDS and our HENRYs, set up a Claim to the Throne of *France*: They wished to be Kings of that fine Country, as well as of *England*. And, what is at this Time of Day a Matter of Wonder and Amazement, the *English* themselves, instead of opposing so ruinous a System, were so infatuated, as to engage in it with all their Might, as if they had been contending for the Preservation of their own Lives and Properties. Happily for our Country, happily, I say, for *Old England*, your female Commander, JOAN d'ARC, rescued us at last from the Danger of being victorious,—that is, in other Words, from being the Authors of our own Ruin. Has that illustrious Heroine left no Descendants behind her? And cannot you find one JOAN d'ARC in modern Days to command his most *Christian* Majesty's Fleets and Armies, in order to drive us
back

back into our own Island? Your present Commanders, with all their great Superiority of Forces, together with the *Americans*, seem unequal to the Task. What Idea this conveys of your super-excellent Courage, or Conduct, if compared with ours, is not my Province to determine.—Rather therefore let me close the whole with an Observation much more important in itself, and more pertinent to my present Subject. There was a Period in our Annals, when the *English* thought themselves the most unfortunate of Men, by being driven out of *France*, because they supposed that such Losses were irretrievable. However Time and Reflection have reconciled them to their Fate: And they have learnt by Experience (what they would not learn from Reason) that they were happy in being defeated; because they were, during all their former Contests, catching at the Shadow, and losing the Substance:—Sacrificing the real Interests of their own Country to the

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empty

empty Name of foreign Acquisitions. Yet, Sir, *France* was not 3000 Miles off; nor could the Healthiness, the Pleasantness, the Soil, the Climate, the Productions, the Genius of the People, their Tempers, Numbers, or the Riches of the two Countries, *France* and *America*, bear a Comparifon with each other.

IN these last Sentiments, I am very fure, that Monsieur NECKER, and every *Frenchman*, indeed every impartial Man, will entirely concur with,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

J. T.

LET-

L E T T E R VI.

An Inquiry, what Benefits will accrue to America, supposing her to obtain her utmost Wishes of Independance in the Prosecution of the present War.

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

Cui Bono?

S I R,

AFTER having shewn, that *England* could not possibly be a Gainer, but must necessarily be a Loser by the Reduction, or Conquest, or Recovery, or Submission of *America* [call it by what Name you please] we are now to reverse the Scene, and to suppose, that *America*, with the Assistance of her great and good Allies, shall reduce *England* to the most abject State of Poverty and Want. *America*, grateful *America*, triumphs over her

former Protectress, and exults on her Ruins. She is a rising Empire, without Bishops! without Nobles! without Kings. This, Sir, you know is the Language of that celebrated Republican, Dr. PRICE. But perhaps you have never yet been told the Name of the original Author of that prophetic Sentence: It was your own Predecessor, the late Monsieur TURGOT. [Now he is dead, I am at Liberty to declare it]. In a Letter of his, dated *Paris* 18th of *February* 1777, and sent to *Glocester*, under a *most patriotic* Cover, he says, *Je fais des Vœux pour la Liberté des Americains, parceque ce sera le Premier Exemple d'un grand Peuple, que n'ait ni Rois, ni Noblesse.* [What Infatuation! He himself being, as I am informed, of a noble Family, of antient Extraction.] But however they may be, as Dr. PRICE, when he went to *Paris*, conversed with Monsieur TURGOT, it is probable, that he learnt this excellent Aphorism from him. For in his famous Pamphlet

Pamphlet in Favour of *America*, he adopted this very Expression, with a little Embellishment of his own, *without Bishops*. [Though, as Bishops and Presbyters are sometimes used in Scripture, as synonymous Terms, *Quere*, Doth Dr. PRICE really mean to disapprove of all Kinds, or of *every Kind of superintending Care*, however limited, as inconsistent with the Liberties of the *Christian Church*? This by the by]. But to return: *England* being thus laid low, and humbled to the Dust, and the *American Stripes* interlaced with the Lillies of *France*, every where triumphant;—What is next to come to pass?—Why truly, after this TOTAL SEPARATION, the Mass of the People on the other Side of the *Atlantic*, will begin to awake out of their golden Dream, and reflect on their present Situation, by comparing it with the past. They will do this the sooner, because all their Fears and Dreads about that fell Monster, the tyrannical Power of

of

of *England*, will then be at an End ; and the Hob-gobling Spectres of Racks and Chains, and Tortures, and Deaths, and raw Heads, and bloody Bones, will affright no longer. Consequently being totally at Ease from that Quarter, they will turn their Eyes to another, and will not fail to recollect the fine Things that had been promised them by their artful Leaders, in order to engage them in this Quarrel.

GREAT, indeed, and glorious were the Things that had been promised ! They were to be the happiest of all happy People, provided they would shake off the galling Yoke of *Britain*, and assert their unalienable Birthrights, their *native Independance*. When that happy Day should come, all Grievances, and all Complaints would cease for ever. The People of *America* were to be blessed with a *Lockian* Government, the only just one, the only free one upon Earth : Consequently the
only

only one fit and proper, for a free People, such as the *Americans*, to make Choice of: Because every Man would be his own Legislator, his own Judge, and his own Director, in such an equal, and free Republic: And then no Man would be compelled to pay more Taxes, or other Taxes, than he himself should previously agree to.—In a Word, all Jealousies, and Discords, and Factions, would be banished from such a State; and Harmony and Concord, Peace and Friendship, every where prevail.—These Honours and Blessings were reserved for *America!*

WELL, the heavy Yoke of *Britain* being thus thrown off [Oh may *Britons* have the Wisdom, and the Fortitude never to yoke with the *Americans* again as Fellow-Subjects, on any Terms whatever] it is natural to ask, What have these Revolters gained by their long-wished-for Change, after so much Parade and Bluster? —They have gained, what necessarily fol-

lows, the Breach of Promises never intended to be fulfilled (if indeed such Acquisitions can be called *Gains*,) they have gained a general Disappointment, mixt with Anger and Indignation. For now they find, that all the fine Speeches and alluring Promises of their patriotic Leaders, meant nothing at all,—but to amuse, and to deceive. Now they feel, that the little Fingers of their new-fangled Republican Governors are heavier than the whole Body of the limited, and mild Constitution of *Old England*: And as they despised and rejected [like the Frogs in the Fable] the Government of one King *Log*, they are now obliged to submit to the Tyranny of an hundred King *Storks*.

HENCE Discontents, Complaints, and Clamours will, and must arise from every Quarter, as long as the Disappointed have Tongues to speak, or Voices to be heard. And as the Example of the former Mal-

contents,

contents, when under the *English* Government, with their pretended List of Grievances, will be fresh in their Memories; they will avail themselves of such Precedents, by turning their own Artillery upon them, and attacking them with their own Weapons. Indeed nothing can be more just than such a Species of Recrimination;—especially when it is farther considered, that the Provocation in this latter Case, will be, on all Accounts, infinitely greater than in the former; for make the most of the Evils, which the *Americans* suffered when under the *English* Government, and caricature them as much as you please,—still, what were they?—Mere Dwarfs and Pigmies in Comparison to those Tyrannies and Oppressions, of a gigantic Size, which the Mass of the People have already felt, and will continue to feel under their new Masters. And the Reflection, that the very Men, who formerly pretended to be their Deliverers and Defenders, have pulled off the Mask,

and are at last become their real Tyrants and Oppressors, will add a peculiar Sting to this general Indignation.

HENCE we may justly conclude, that the *American* patriotic Orators, who are to figure away in future Times at their Liberty-Trees, and other Places of public Rendezvous, will declaim, and exclaim most vehemently (and indeed most justly) somewhat to the following Effect.

“ WHEN this devoted Country was un-
 “ der the Protection of *England*,—A Pro-
 “ tection alas! never to be obtained any
 “ more,—our Governments were as free
 “ as the Nature of Man, and our peculiar
 “ Situations would admit. We had no
 “ Restraints laid on us, but such as our
 “ Parent State thought to be unavoid-
 “ able, such as she deemed necessary; by
 “ Way of compensating in some Degree
 “ for those manifold Benefits, Favours,
 “ and Protections, we received from her,

“ without *our* contributing a Farthing to-
 “ wards the general Charge. Nay more,
 “ the Restraints themselves were chiefly
 “ *nominal*: For you all know, that we con-
 “ tinually evaded them, when it was our
 “ Interest so to do: And our indulgent
 “ Mother-Country kindly winked at these
 “ Evasions; so that in Reality they were
 “ no Restraints to us. But now,—Oh,
 “ sad Reverse, how are we changed! And
 “ what are we now come to! We are ac-
 “ tually become the Slaves of our Fellow-
 “ Subjects, who have duped and cheated
 “ us most egregiously, and now laugh at
 “ our Credulity. They now rule us with
 “ a Rod of Iron, and make us know and
 “ feel, that their Restraints, Orders, and
 “ Regulations, are not like the former
 “ ones, to be dispensed with at Pleasure,
 “ or to be evaded with Impunity, but to
 “ be rigorously enforced, and punctually
 “ obeyed.—Woe be to the Man who shall
 “ transgress: Fines, and Imprisonments,
 “ corporal Punishments, and even Death

“ itself may be his Portion. As to the
 “ Promises of a free and equal Republic,
 “ and the Blessings of a Lockian Com-
 “ mon-Wealth;—they are all forgot, and
 “ out of Date: Indeed it now plainly ap-
 “ pears, that they were never intended to
 “ be remembered any longer, than whilst
 “ they might serve as Footstools to our
 “ present Rulers, to mount into Power.
 “ For now we are gravely told, that the
 “ Times will not bear so lax a System, as
 “ that every Man should be his own Le-
 “ gislator, Governor, and Controller.
 “ The Times require, that the Reins of
 “ Government should be held with a
 “ tighter, and a stronger Hand than here-
 “ tofore: And that whosoever shall pre-
 “ sume to take undue Liberties with these
 “ rising States, shall find to his Cost, that
 “ they bear not the Sword in vain.

“ HENCE it comes to pass, that we
 “ now hear from them for the *first Time*,
 “ that it is our Duty to respect the Go-
 “ vernment

“ vernment under which we live; and
 “ that neither the Liberty of the Press,
 “ nor the Liberty of Speech shall be in-
 “ dulg'd to that Degree, as to be inju-
 “ rious to the public Safety;—meaning
 “ thereby, their own Power and Dignity.
 “ Thus do these Men, who heretofore
 “ never ceased to speak Evil of Digni-
 “ ties, and to invent and propagate
 “ thousands of Lies and Calumnies a-
 “ gainst the best and mildest of Govern-
 “ ments;—thus do they now refuse us
 “ the poor Consolation of complaining
 “ against their unjust and tyrannical Pro-
 “ ceedings. The Word, *inimical to A-*
 “ *merica*, so often in their Mouths, and
 “ in the Mouths of their Runners and
 “ Informers, is a new-coined Word, un-
 “ known to our ancient Laws, and ut-
 “ terly unknown to us till the black
 “ Reign of these Republican Inquisitors.
 “ —They indeed, after the Example of
 “ their bloody Predecessors, the Inquisi-
 “ tors of *Spain*, have erected it into a
 “ Kind

“ Kind of STATE-HERESY, which is to
 “ signify whatever they please; and there-
 “ fore to serve them as a commodious
 “ Engine for wrecking their Malice on
 “ all, who dare to oppose, or even to cen-
 “ sure their wicked Deeds.

“ FORMERLY it was pretended, that
 “ we should have had no Factions and
 “ Divisions among us, were it not for
 “ those false Brethren, who were con-
 “ tinually endeavouring to enslave us
 “ with the Chains of *England*.—Those
 “ Chains are broken asunder;—never to
 “ be joined again. But are our Animo-
 “ sities therefore at an End? And are
 “ there no Factions and Jealousies reign-
 “ ing among us at this Juncture?—So
 “ far from it, that the evil Spirit of
 “ Discord was never so rife, as it is at
 “ present. It has infected every Part of
 “ *America* from one End to the other.
 “ *We* for Instance, the *Subjects* forsooth,
 “ of this free and equal Republic, *have*
 “ just

“ just *Cause* to complain: Because we
 “ have been cheated, bubbled, and be-
 “ trayed. But as to our imperious Mas-
 “ ters, the Authors of our Ruin, what
 “ Kind of Complacency, or Concord,
 “ do *they* enjoy among themselves?—
 “ None at all:—For we know, that they
 “ are jealous of each other’s Power: We
 “ know, that they are planning Schemes
 “ to supplant, and circumvent:—And
 “ that they make Use of every Engine,
 “ whether of Force or Fraud, of Bri-
 “ bery or Terror, if practicable, in or-
 “ der to compass their Ends, and crush
 “ their Rivals. And as to that ill Blood,
 “ and those Antipathies which formerly
 “ subsisted between the Northern, and
 “ the Southern Colonies:—Are they
 “ cooled? Are they asswaged and mod-
 “ erated since our late Revolution? No,
 “ they are not: On the contrary, all for-
 “ mer Dislikes and Aversions are so
 “ heightened and inflamed, by this very
 “ Measure, and by Criminations, and
 “ Recri-

“ Recriminations in Consequence there-
“ of, as to threaten a Civil War. Nay
“ more, it is well known, that most of
“ our States had some Claims upon each
“ other, and that they frequently com-
“ plained of mutual Encroachments,
“ and reciprocal Usurpations (which
“ nevertheless were restrained within
“ Bounds, and prevented from breaking
“ out into open Violence, by the Awe
“ of the Mother-Country;)— There-
“ fore how is the Case at present?
“ Why truly, Now that such Restraints
“ are removed, these dormant Claims
“ have broken out afresh, and every Re-
“ proach is renewed with redoubled Ran-
“ cour, and a greater Thirst of Revenge:
“ —So that in fact, we are little better
“ than in a State of War, though we
“ seemingly wear the Appearances of
“ Peace.

“ IN short, our Native Country is by
“ no Means become desirable even to our-
“ selves

“ selves; much less to others. It was
 “ once an Asylum to the rest of the
 “ World. But now it is not a Place of
 “ Safety even to its natural-born Inhabi-
 “ tants. Already great Numbers have
 “ left it; to return to Europe, the Coun-
 “ try of their Fore-fathers: And still
 “ greater have migrated into the distant
 “ back Countries; bordering on the
 “ Lakes; there to commence new Settle-
 “ ments; and new Governments. This
 “ they say; they have as good a Right to
 “ do, as we had to break loose from the
 “ Government of *England*; which had so
 “ long protected and defended us:—Yes;
 “ they add, and much better; on account
 “ of those superior Obligations, which
 “ we had been under to the mildest
 “ and most beneficent Government upon
 “ Earth. And to shew that they are in
 “ earnest; they set us at Defiance; and
 “ even threaten to invade us (according as
 “ an *English* Patriot had long ago fore-
 “ told) with a numerous Body of Ca-
 “ valry,

“ valry, after the Manner of the *Asiatic*
 “ and *European* Tartars:—Well knowing
 “ that we are not able to invade them.

“ AMONG the many Blessings we for-
 “ merly enjoyed, one was, that we might
 “ sleep peaceably in our Beds, without
 “ Fear of being pressed either to the
 “ Land, or Sea Service;—even in De-
 “ fence of our own Country against the
 “ Forces of *France* or *Spain*, or any other
 “ foreign Power:—The Parent State
 “ having kindly undertaken to do all these
 “ Things for us, at an Expence of Blood
 “ and Treasure, really astonishing:—So
 “ that unless a military Life was our own
 “ Choice, and agreeable to our own In-
 “ clinations, not a Man of us was *com-*
 “ *pelled* to leave his Farm, his Trade, his
 “ Fisheries, or his Merchandise, to com-
 “ mence a Sailor, or a Soldier, for the
 “ public Service. But now we must be
 “ enrolled in the Militia, whether we will
 “ or no: and take the Field at the Word

“ of Command. The same Hardships
 “ attend us in the Sea-Service: We are
 “ no longer our own Masters even in our
 “ own Houses, and in our own Beds.
 “ The Language now is, that each Re-
 “ public must provide a proportionate
 “ Number of Ships of War, Frigates,
 “ Cruisers, and Guarda-Coastas for its own
 “ Protection. These are new Doctrines
 “ to us *Americans*: We never heard them
 “ before these blessed Times.

“ THE Freedom and Encouragement
 “ of Trade was another grand Pretence
 “ for engaging us in the late Revolt. In
 “ this Affair, as in all others, we were
 “ made to believe strange Things, which
 “ Experience now tells us had no Foun-
 “ dation: For now we know and feel,
 “ when it is too late, that the parent
 “ State was so far from planning Schemes
 “ for our Impoverishment, that, on the
 “ contrary, she was continually devising
 “ Ways and Means for our Enrichment,

“ even sometimes to her own Loss, —
“ by granting us several Monopolies
“ against herself. For Example, she laid
“ heavy Duties on the Iron of other
“ Countries, (though a raw, and neces-
“ sary Material for her Manufactures)
“ and exempted *America* from paying
“ any. She did the same by foreign
“ Hemp, and even added a very great
“ Bounty for the Growth and Importa-
“ tion of ours. The same Course she
“ took respecting our Pitch and Tar,
“ and Indico, and Lumber, and several
“ other Articles : So that whilst foreign
“ Materials were loaded and discouraged
“ with heavy Duties, ours were fed and
“ nursed by generous and great Bounties.
“ And as to Tobacco, she granted such
“ an absolute Monopoly of it to *America*,
“ as not only to prohibit the Tobaccos
“ of foreign Growths, but even to for-
“ bid the Cultivation of Tobacco at
“ Home. Moreover, in regard to our
“ Fisheries, and all the Produce thereof,
“ she

“ she granted us almost every Favour
 “ and Indulgence, which she had granted
 “ to her own People;—and, if she had
 “ considered our advantageous Situation,
 “ perhaps more than she herself would
 “ have intended.—But to say the Truth
 “ at once, when we were united to her,
 “ she regarded us as her favourite Chil-
 “ dren, for whom she thought she could
 “ never do enough, and therefore treated
 “ us with a peculiar, and distinguished
 “ Fondness, because we were so distant
 “ from her. In one Word, in almost
 “ every Instance, where the Interests of
 “ *England*, and of *America* seemed to
 “ clash, she gave *America* the Prefe-
 “ rence.

“ YET, my fellow Citizens of *Ame-*
 “ *rica*, *this* was the Tyrant, the bloody
 “ and cruel Tyrant, whom we were
 “ taught to regard, as plotting our Ruin
 “ and Destruction:—This was she, who
 “ was represented to us under the most
 “ odious

“ odious Colours, and in the worst of
 “ Characters. How fatal have been
 “ our Mistakes ! and what Punishment do
 “ these Men deserve for leading us into
 “ them !—They never let us know the
 “ Truth of Facts, till it was too late ;
 “ But used us as Tools to stab our best
 “ Friend and Benefactress,—because she
 “ stood in the Way of their usurping
 “ Greatness :—And alas ! in being Tools
 “ to them, we have committed a Kind
 “ of Self-Murder on ourselves !

“ WILL our great and good Allies the
 “ *French* now compensate for these
 “ Wrongs and Losses ? Will they give
 “ Bounties and Draw-backs, exclusive
 “ Privileges, and Monopolies in our Fa-
 “ vour, and to their own Hurt ? No,
 “ they will not. For now their own
 “ Ends are answered, in demolishing the
 “ Power of *England*, by our Assistance,
 “ they have no farther Need of our Help
 “ and Service. And we may shift for
 “ ourselves,

“ ourselves, as well as we can. In short,
 “ they now turn the Tables on us, and
 “ serve us as we served the *English*. By
 “ their Inuendoes they give us plainly
 “ to understand, that though they loved
 “ the Treason, they hated the Traitor.

“ NAY farther, we were taught to be-
 “ lieve, that when we had once gained our
 “ favourite Object, *Independance*, we
 “ should be enabled both to *buy*, and *sell*
 “ to much greater Advantage than we did,
 “ or could do before. O ye *Americans*,
 “ tell if you can, Is this now the Fact?—
 “ And after we have tried every Market in
 “ *Europe*, are we not obliged to return
 “ to the *English* again for every useful Ar-
 “ ticle [tho’ not for Gewgaws and Bau-
 “ bles] as to our last Resource? We
 “ now find by Experience, that they sell
 “ better, and cheaper Goods; and that
 “ they can give longer Credit.—In regard
 “ to this last Article, *long Credit*, there
 “ was a Time, when it might be truly
 “ said,

“ said, that all *America* traded on the
“ Credit of *English Capitals*. Our Mer-
“ chants bought *English Goods* on long
“ Credit: And if Remittances were made
“ to *England* within twelve Months, it
“ was deemed *good Pay*;—if within two
“ Years, not very bad: And many
“ relied on the Patience of their *Eng-*
“ *lish* Creditors, so far as to make no
“ Payment before three Years were ex-
“ pired. [Not to mention those who
“ never intended any Payment at all.] In
“ the mean Time, when these Goods
“ were disposed of in *America*, to what
“ Use was the Money there arising, gene-
“ rally applied by our *American* Advent-
“ turers?—It was lent out at an Interest
“ of Eight per Cent.;—or it was em-
“ ployed in carrying on a Traffic to the
“ *Spanish Main*, where the Gains were
“ Twenty per Cent.;—or in the Purchase
“ of landed Estates in our own Provinces;
“ —so that all this while, our *American*
“ Adventurers were growing rich and
“ great

“ great, at the Expence of their *English*
 “ Creditors. But how are the Times al-
 “ tered within a few Years? Our Euro-
 “ pean Correspondents both in *France*,
 “ and in other Countries, now expect,
 “ that *we* should trust them, instead of
 “ their trusting *us*: And it is looked
 “ upon, as a peculiar Indulgence, when
 “ they condescend to allow us six Months
 “ Credit, instead of 18 Months, or two
 “ Years. On the other Hand, we find
 “ also by dear-bought Experience, that
 “ the *English* gave a better Price for our
 “ *American* Produce of every Kind, than
 “ we can obtain [in Times of Peace] any
 “ where else;—and that their Pay was in-
 “ finitely better, being indeed frequently
 “ advanced, before the Goods arrived in
 “ *England*. Yet these generous Corre-
 “ spondents, and kind Benefactors, were
 “ the very People, whom our present
 “ Rulers represented to us, as the most
 “ knavish, the most perfidious, over-
 P “ reaching

“ reaching, and dishonest Traders in the
 “ mercantile World. O may we never
 “ meet with worse Pay-masters, or more
 “ dishonest Dealers than they have been!

“ BUT above all, our TAXES! Yes, our
 “ TAXES,—For the *English* Legislature
 “ laid on us a most exorbitant, and
 “ grievous Tax of 3d. on a Pound of Tea,
 “ and of an Halfpenny Stamp on a News-
 “ Paper: This, to be sure, was a most
 “ intolerable Burden;—a very sufficient
 “ Cause for revolting from under the Pres-
 “ sure of such a Yoke! But now,—What
 “ is it we pay?—Nay rather,—What
 “ is it we do *not* pay?—Alas! there is
 “ hardly one Article either of live, or dead
 “ Stock, or of the Produce of the Earth
 “ and Waters, or the Result of our In-
 “ dustry and Labour, that is exempt from
 “ the Fangs of these devouring Locusts?
 “ They tax every Thing; and yet they
 “ say, that all this is not enough; and
 “ that

“ that more must still be laid on: In
 “ short, *America* is mortgaged for Ages
 “ to come, with a Debt of Millions upon
 “ Millions, in order to obtain,—What?
 “ Why truly, that a Set of ungrateful
 “ UPSTARTS might be exalted into
 “ Power, to insult their Betters, and to
 “ become the Princes, and Princeesses of
 “ this once free Country.”

MUCH more, Sir, might have been
 added to the same Effect: And many of
 the present Heads might have been greatly
 enlarged upon. But I am persuaded, that
 you will think this Specimen to be suffi-
 cient for proving and illustrating my
 grand Subject,—namely, That the *Ame-*
ricans, as well as the other Powers, are
 acting directly contrary to their own In-
 terests in the present Contest. They are
 pursuing their own Ruin, by attempting
 our Downfall and Destruction. So that
 if they shall succeed, we shall be the

Gainers, and they the Losers. A strange Metamorphosis this, wherein every Thing is inverted. Antipodes undoubtedly there are in the natural World! But *Antipodes* in the moral, political, and commercial, is a new Phœnomenon, reserved for the Statesmen and Politicians of the present Age. In regard to the Truths of the Facts, which are advanced in the above futuro *American* patriotic Speech [as far as the *Favours* and *Bounties* of *England* are concerned] they are indisputable, and cannot be controverted. Respecting the little Strokes of Oratory, they are of no Consequence; but may be admitted, or rejected, according as my Readers may think proper. One Thing however, Sir, you will, I presume, most readily allow, that nothing is more common, than for Men, when any darling Scheme has failed, mutually to accuse each other, and to throw the Blame any where, from off themselves.

THE

THE *Americans* will be found under this Predicament; they will be disappointed, greatly chagrined, and universally discontented: So that when they shall be no longer connected with *England*, they will vent their Reproaches against each other, for having been the Authors of their respective Sufferings. To sum up all, they will fulfil HORACE'S Remark, which he made so long ago:

“ Virtutem incolumem odimus,

“ Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.”

As to the future Grandeur of *America*, and its being a rising Empire, under *one Head*, whether Republican, or Monarchical, it is one of the idlest, and most visionary Notions, that ever was conceived even by Writers of Romance. For there is nothing in the Genius of the People, the Situation of their Country,

try,

try, or the Nature of their different Climates, which tends to countenance such a Supposition. On the contrary, every Prognostic that can be formed from a Contemplation of their mutual Antipathies, and clashing Interests, their Difference of Governments, Habitudes, and Manners,—plainly indicates, that the *Americans* will have no *Center of Union* among them, and no *Common Interest* to pursue, when the Power and Government of *England* are finally removed. Moreover, when the Intersections and Divisions of their Country by great Bays of the Sea, and by vast Rivers, Lakes, and Ridges of Mountains;—and above all, when those immense inland Regions, beyond the Back Settlements, which are still unexplored, are taken into the Account, they form the highest Probability that the *Americans* never can be united into one compact Empire, under any Species of Government whatever. Their

Fate seems to be,—A DISUNITED PEOPLE, till the End of Time. In short, the only *probable* Supposition, that can be formed of them at present is this;—That being so very jealous in their Tempers, so suspicious, and distrustful of each other, they will be divided, and subdivided into little Common-Wealths, or Principalities, according to the above-mentioned natural Divisions, or Boundaries of their Country: and that all of them in general, will be more intent on prosecuting their own internal Disputes and Quarrels, than desirous to engage in external Wars, and distant Conquests. They will have neither Leisure, nor Inclination, nor Abilities for such Undertakings.—

THIS Subject might be greatly enlarged upon, and placed in various Lights. But as I have already put your
 Patience

Patience to the Trial, I will pursue
it no farther; and have the Honour
to be,

Your obliged,

And devoted humble Servant,

J. T.

LET-

L E T T E R VII.

*A Plan for a general Pacification; with
Remarks.*

TO MONSIEUR NECKER.

S I R,

WE are now come within Sight of Land. One Letter more will bring me to the End of my *epistolary Voyage*.—Indeed, Peace is the Haven for which I am steering, and to which I wish to arrive, and to lay up my little Bark. Nor can such an Object be unacceptable to you, if you are the same Person, as undoubtedly you are, who recommended that excellent Maxim to your Sovereign; * “ That no sort of Con-
“ quests, and no Kind of Alliances do

* The Words are here a little paraphrased, but the Sense is strictly preserved. See the *Compte Rendu*, Page 68, and the Translation, page 71.

Q

“ con-

“ contribute to the real Welfare and
“ Grandeur of a State, so much as a
“ constant and judicious Attention to
“ Agriculture, Manufactures, and the
“ Arts of Peace.” In this therefore, as
we are both agreed, *let us endeavour to
lend a helping Hand to each other in this
good Work.*

PERHAPS indeed the Obscurity of the Agent [I mean myself, not you] may be some Prejudice against listening to Proposals coming from such a Quarter. Be it so; but nevertheless it ought not totally to discourage well-meant Endeavours. For I remember to have read, That when the Artists at *Rome* found their Tackling for raising a vast antient Column, to be too long by an Inch or two, and were at a Loss how to proceed, they listened to a Boy among the Crowd of Spectators, who cried out, *Wet the Ropes, and they will shrink.* By following his Advice, they effected their Undertaking;

dertaking; and the Pillar was placed on its Base, and stands upright to this Day. Yet I never heard that these Artists were censured, or that they deserved Censure, on that Account. Besides, all the Powers now at war are become most heartily sick of their present military Scenes; among which Number I will venture to include the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, as well as the *French*, *English*, and *Americans*: For their Cases are exactly parallel. Indeed all Sides are, at last, most thoroughly convinced, that they have been fighting for a *Shadow*; — or rather, for what is much worse than a Shadow, a *Substance* of a very pernicious, and destructive Quality. Nevertheless Pride, national Pride, is of such a Nature as to prevent them from making this frank Confession. The Labours therefore of an Individual, however obscure, may not be entirely thrown away in such a Case: He may suggest something, which has not occurred to wiser

Heads, or he may be the Means of bringing all Sides the nearer to each other, without either Party seeming to yield, or to make the first Advances.—But be that as it may; and if his Labours should be again disregarded, as they have often been; the very Desire of doing Good, and the *mens conscia recti* are in themselves no small Consolation. A Machiavellian Politician is not to be envied.

*Scheme for a general Pacification, with
Remarks thereupon.*

I. Let all the Countries and Places, which have been taken during the War, be mutually restored, and as nearly as possible in the same Condition that they were in, before the War began. This Rule should extend to every Part of the Globe; unless to such Places, as shall be otherwise disposed of in, or by the following Treaty.

II. LET

II. LET the Countries between the Rivers *Penobscot* and *Connecticut*, containing almost all the Provinces of *New-Hampshire*, *Massachusets*, *Rhode-Island*, and *Connecticut*, be ceded to the *American* Republicans in full Right.

III. LET the *American* Loyalists enjoy the District from the River *Connecticut* to *Hudson's* River, together with *Long Island*, and *Staten Island*.

IV. LET all the Countries from *Hudson's* River to the Northern Boundary of *North Carolina*, containing Part of the Province of *New York*, all the *Jerseys*, all *Pennsylvania*, all the three Lower Counties, and all *Maryland* and *Virginia*, be ceded for ever to the Republican *Americans*. By this Partition or Division, they will be put in immediate Possession of nine Provinces out of thirteen, for which they contended. In

these they will be independent of *Great-Britain*, and *Great-Britain* independent of them.

V. LET the Loyalists retain the three remaining Provinces, namely, *North-Carolina*, *South-Carolina*, and *Georgia*.

VI. As the Provinces of *New-York*, *North*, and *South-Carolina*, and *Georgia*, will thus become Asylums, and Places of Safety, for the loyal Refugees to retire to,—let the same regal, and mixt Government be restored to each, as obtained heretofore. But let it be stipulated, that this Government shall continue no longer than for TEN YEARS from the Date of the Treaty: At the Expiration of which Term, let the Assembly of each Province be at full Liberty to chuse any Form they shall think proper.

VII. LET the *Eastern Floridas* be ceded
to

to *Spain*, together with the Fortrefs of *Gibraltar*, provided his *Catholic* Majesty will give the Island of *Porto-Rico* in Exchange: A Place of as little Use to them, as *Gibraltar* is to *England*.

VIII. LET the Island of *Minorca* be ceded to the House of *Austria*, as an intermediate Depository between the Ports of *Trieste*, in *Dalmatia*, and *Ostend*, in *Flanders*. But let the whole Island, with all the Ports and Fortresses thereunto belonging, be considered as one general free Port, or common Magazine, wherein no Duties are to be paid either on Exportation, or Importation: And where also the Ships of all Nations, military as well as mercantile, shall be safe and free to go in and out, to load and unload, to careen, and refit at Pleasure, without Molestation of any Kind;—only paying the necessary Charges to the respective Tradesmen, Ship-Carpenters, &c. &c.

IX. LET

IX. LET the Emperor of *Germany* invite the Powers at War to send Deputies to meet at *Brussels*, or at any other convenient City in *Austrian Flanders*, there to treat on the Means of procuring a general Pacification: And if Peace can be obtained on the above Terms, or on any other more acceptable to the contending Parties,—let the great Powers of *Germany*, the Empress of *Russia*, and the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, solemnly guarantee the same.

R E M A R K S.

Remark I. THE above Plan for a general Pacification is not offered as the *very best* in the Nature of Things, but only as the most feasible, and the likeliest to be adopted by the opposite contending Parties. For when there are so many different Prejudices to be encountered, the Man who hopes to succeed in any Degree, must steer such a middle Course, as that all may be gratified in some Respect,

spects, though not to the full Extent of their extravagant-Wishes.

THE very best System [*best* I mean in Behalf of *England*] would have been, To have thrown up all foreign Dominions at once;—and to have trusted solely to the Goodness and Cheapness of our Manufactures, and to the long Credit we can give, for procuring them a *Vent* in these [abdicated] Governments, as well as in other Countries.—In the next Place to have relied on the Strength of our great Capitals, and on the commanding Influence of good *Price*, and good *Pay*, for purchasing all Sorts of Goods and Commodities from every Nation under Heaven:—And in the third Place, to have kept our Strength both by Land and Sea, well centred on our own Coasts, not dissipated by foreign Expeditions, always ready at Hand for our Defence against Invaders. This, I say, would have been the best, and the wisest Scheme;—nay

R

more,

more, this is the only Scheme, to which we ourselves must have Recourse in Times of the greatest Difficulties, and Dangers. A plain Proof, that there is no need at any Time to recur to any other Measure! Nevertheless, when Mankind have been long kept in Darkness, or after they have wilfully blind-folded themselves for Ages past, they must be treated according to the Nature of their Case. For their Eyes are too weak to bear the full Glare of Day at once: Light therefore must be let in upon them by Degrees. And as this Consideration is of Weight, permit me to use it as an Apology for not offering a better System than the foregoing.

Remark II. WERE *Minorca* to be put into the Hands of the House of *Austria*, as proposed in the foregoing Plan, and to be made a common Magazine, and a general free Port for all Nations, much Good might redound thereby to the whole political

tical and commercial Worlds; and it is hard to say, what great Evil could result from such a Measure. For, in the first Place, as his Imperial Majesty wants such a Port, to be a Kind of intermediate Depository between *Flanders* and *Dalmatia*,—a Hint of this Nature properly suggested, might be a powerful Inducement with him to offer his Mediation for composing the present Differences, and to propose one of his Towns in *Flanders* for assembling a Congress.

IN the second Place, no Power, or Potentate, or even Individual, could be hurt by the opening of such a general Mart for all Nations to resort to. For as all would have equal Liberty both of Ingress, and Egress, all would be benefitted in one Degree or other, some more, or some less;—but none could be hurt:—Certainly the *English* could not be injured; because they would enjoy the same Liberty, which they have at present, with

great additional Advantages, without a Shilling Expence,—and, what is still more, without exciting the Fears and Jealousies of other Powers. The *Russian* Empire would be benefitted, because such an intermediate Depository between the Extremities of that vast Empire [that is, between *Petersburgh* and *Asoph*, if the *Turks* will permit a free Navigation through the *Dardanel*s] would answer much the same End to her, as it would to the House of *Austria*. And as to *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and every Side of the *Mediterranean*, not to mention the North of *Europe*—it is obvious to the most common Apprehension, that all these Countries would derive considerable Advantages from such an Institution; and that *France* in particular would be benefitted above the rest; because she would have the most Goods and Merchandise to be exposed to Sale at this Emporium, and the fewest Wants to be supplied; consequently the less to purchase;

chase; and the greater would be the Balance in her Favour.

3dly. THE Possession of such a Spot as *Minorca*, by the House of *Austria*, could give no just Umbrage to any Naval Power. For though the Head of that House were ever so desirous of raising a naval Force, it would be impossible for him to accomplish his Wishes, with only three such Ports as *Ostend*, *Mabon*, and *Trieste*, and those almost one thousand Miles distant from each other. Therefore Peace and Commerce must always be his only Views, as far as *Minorca* would be concerned, whatever military Schemes might be formed in other Respects.

4thly, TRADE therefore being the only Object capable of being pursued in this Case, his Imperial Majesty might maintain a sufficient Garrison at a very small Expence,—perhaps, indeed, at none at

all. For as this general Emporium would attract to it the Active and Industrious from every Country, such Numbers would settle on the Island, as would render it Populous like an Hive of Bees. Therefore a very moderate Excise, or inland Duty on the *Home Consumption* of the Inhabitants, would fully defray the Charges of the Civil Government [if judiciously laid on] and probably maintain a Garrison of 2500 Men besides: I mean after the Manner that the *Austrian* Troops are cloathed, fed, and paid, not according to the Expences of *English* Troops, and Garrisons.

5^{thly}, WHATEVER Benefits other Countries would obtain by opening the Communication here proposed,—the Benefits to the Kingdom of *Hungary* will still be greater. This fine Country is allowed by all to be one of the most fertile upon Earth; yet it has hitherto laboured under two such Difficulties, as
 have

have rendered it in a Manner a *Terra incognita* to the commercial World. The one is, *the feudal System*, which still reigns there, and in the neighbouring Provinces, to a greater Degree than in any other Part of Europe, *Poland* excepted. Now, Sir, a feudal Baron, with his hundred Vassals on his Estate [Slaves in Effect] doth not use and consume as many of the Necessaries and Conveniencies, much less the Elegancies of Life [that is, in a commercial View, he and his miserable Dependants are not so good Customers] as a *French* Nobleman with 25 Tenants, or an *English* Gentleman with 15. And as his Imperial Majesty is abolishing all these slavish Tenures, as fast as he can, and as the Nature of the Case will permit;—this will in Time open new Sources of Commerce and Riches, much more beneficial than the Discovery of new distant Countries, or the Colonization of remote Deserts. The second Inconvenience which *Hungary* laboured under, was the Want
of

of some Communication with the rest of *Europe*, by Means of a commodious Port. This Evil will be remedied to a great Degree by the Measure here proposed; for the Establishment of an Emporium at *Minorca*, where the Produce and Manufactures of all Countries might be deposited and exchanged, will operate nearly the same, as if *Hungary* was moved out of its Place, and brought more contiguous to those Countries, or that those Countries were placed nearer to *Hungary*:—I say, the commercial Effects would be much the same. And then the Riches of *Hungary*, by Means of a regular, well-directed Circulation of Industry and Labour, would become the Riches of such Countries;—more especially of the great commercial Countries of *France* and *England*:—And the Riches of *France* and *England*, for the very same Reason, would become the Riches of *Hungary*:—That is in plain *English*, one Nation would become so much

much the better Customer to the other, by being so much the Richer.—

THIS mutual Circulation of Labour and Industry, is that *grand fundamental Truth* in the Science of Politics and Commerce, which never can be too much inculcated. O! what Oceans of Blood would it have saved in every Age, had it been duly attended to!

Remark III. The only Affair in the Revolt of the Colonies, in which the Honour of *England* is *truly* concerned, is, to secure some Place of Retreat and Safety to the loyal *Americans*, from the Rage of their blood-thirsty republican Persecutors. The foregoing Plan has, I hope, sufficiently provided for their Security.—Indeed, as their only Crime was the doing their Duty, and being faithful to those Engagements which they owed to the mildest Government upon Earth; —the Time will come, when even their

Persecutors will look upon these Loy-
alists with different Eyes: They will
consider them, as having been their most
faithful Monitors, who would have saved
their sinking Country, had good Sense, and
sound Policy—not to mention a Word
about good Faith, Honour, and Con-
science,—been suffered to prevail. Per-
mit me likewise to add, that when the
Hand of Time has laid low the Author
of these Papers, already pressed with
Years and Infirmities—perhaps Mons.
NECKER himself may vouchsafe to say:
“ What a Pity, that the DEAN of
“ GLOCESTER’S Advice had not been
“ more attended to! His Observations
“ were just;—that the War in which
“ we all engaged so deeply, and which
“ we cherished with such unthinking
“ Zeal, has been productive of great and
“ lasting Evils to ALL; to *France* in
“ particular; and of no Good to any.”

BUT as it will be immaterial to my-

self whether you will condescend to take Notice of my Writings or not, I enjoy a present Satisfaction, when I consider you as my Fellow-Labourer in the good Work of Peace. Many Passages in your Book evidently bespeak you to have a generous Concern for the whole Human Race, and to be patriotic in the best Sense of that Word, *A Friend to Mankind.*

EVER ambitious of being related in Affection to all of that Character, I have the Honour to subscribe myself, with the greater Pleasure,

S I R,

Your most respectful,

And most obedient humble Servant,

GLOCESTER,
November 28, 1781.

J. TUCKER.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THIS Moment an Account is arrived, that the brave *Cornwallis* with his little Army has been obliged to submit to the united Force of superior Numbers. I am at a Loss what to say on this Occasion.—To congratulate my Country on being defeated is contrary to that Decency which is due to the Public. And yet, if this Defeat should terminate in a total Separation from *America*, it would be one of the happiest Events, that hath ever happened to *Great Britain*.—I have no Right to congratulate you on this Victory, much less.

less to condole with you; though Condolence would have been by far the properer Compliment. Time will shew what *you* have got; and what *we* have lost, by the Progresses of the present War. The *English* have been too long in the Habit of using the *disadvantageous Lever*; it will now be the Turn of the *French* to use it. *France*, without Colonies, or Foreign Dominions, is almost invulnerable; but whenever she is seized with the epidemical Madness of having distant Colonies, she will be as vulnerable as her Neighbours.

F I N I S.

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